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NO. I.

JASTROW'S TALMUDIC DICTIONARY.*

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Max Mueller's familiar saying: "He who knows only one language knows none," holds good of no dialect as much as of the Aramæan. For no language, not even the English and Turkish, contains as large a store of foreign words, and many of these disguised and disfigured almost beyond recognition, as does the language spoken by the Jews in Palestine and Babylonia under the Roman and Parthian rule and used in Jewish literature down to the thirteenth century. The meaning of many of these foreign words having been frequently forgotten, we need not wonder at finding a large number of them in an utterly corrupt form which renders it quite difficult to the finest linguist to decipher them. Add to this the total lack of critical editions of either the Talmuds or the Midrashic literature.—In regard to the Targumim, Prof. De Lagarde and A. Berliner made at least a fair beginning.—Thus few realize some of the difficulties the writer of an Aramaic dictionary has to cope with. Aside, however, from these external disadvantages, the one great task of the lexicographer, which consists in the tracing of each word to its root and explaining its various uses in the different formations and ramifications, is much aggravated here where we have to deal with a language which is neither the natural growth of a national speech nor presented in the manner in which it was spoken by the people, but is the dialect of a school ever busy to coin its own terms and create its own laws of etymology. Quite frequently we find biblical expressions pressed into new meanings and molded into

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new forms to serve as legal or ritualistic terms, and again when Roman or Persian life presented new conceptions or practices, we see their respective technical terms invested with Aramæan forms to secure their naturalization in Jewish law and Jewish circles.

Now, while Buxtorf won for himself immortal fame by his pioneer-work in this field, he failed particularly in the latter point. He was not familiar enough with the vast rabbinical literature and the spirit of talmudical casuistry to be able to clear up the puzzling problems of rabbinical terminology. In this respect, Prof. I. Levy's two dictionaries, the one on the Targumim and the other on the Talmud, represent an immense progress. The vast condition of this great talmudic scholar enabled him to achieve the herculean task of setting before the reader the entire stock of words contained in these works not only in an exhaustive but in a wonderfully clear and instructive manner, so as to furnish every German student with the means of penetrating into the hitherto hidden mysteries of talmudic lore. Prof. Levy does not merely give the words and their meanings, but, to the great benefit of the scholars, he presents also fair specimens of the various applications of each so as to offer a fair insight into the legal intricacies of the Halakha, the *practical*, and into the niceties of the Haggadah, the *homiletical* interpretation of the Bible. Still Prof. Levy is no linguist. Both his classical and his oriental, Syriac, Arabic and Persian, knowledge is extremely superficial. Hence his own etymological attempts at explaining rare words are, in most cases, without value. True, he endeavored to make up for this defect by obtaining the valuable contributions of Prof. Fleischer. But these are to a great extent criticisms, general or single, of the author's etymologies, and are far from covering the whole field.

It is not the place here to dwell on the merits or the defects of the great Hebrew work of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut, since three years resident of New York City, the *Arakh Competum*, the scholarly edition of the Talmudic Dictionary, by Nathan, of Rome, of the tenth century, almost indispensable to the student of talmudic literature. That which here concerns us most, the etymological explanations offered by Dr. Kohut, cannot claim undisputed credit, as they draw altogether too much on the Persian Dictionary, often presenting words of doubtful existence.

In undertaking to write an Aramæan Dictionary for the English student, Rev. Dr. Jastrow is far from claiming to supersede and outdo his predecessors in the field. By calling the work on its very title page a "compilation," he modestly declines originality as to plan and method. He obviously walks in the footsteps of Dr. Levy. To judge from the two parts that are before us, his intention is chiefly to furnish the student with a handier book, written in as concise a form as possible so as to facilitate its use. Viewed in this light, the undertaking certainly is a laudable one and deserves all possible encouragement. As Prof.

Levy's dictionary has done yeoman's work for a more thorough and a more general study of talmudical literature among German scholars, so will, we trust, Dr. Jastrow's, when once completed,—and we fervently wish and pray for his continued health to enable him to carry the work through to its successful end!—work as an incentive to English students to take up the study of a literature which is of such great importance to both the Jewish and the Christian scholar.

In one regard, Dr. Jastrow has even improved upon Prof. Levy. In careful study of Roman law he has frequently found opportunity of casting new light on rabbinical nomenclature, for which talmudists will bear him thanks. Not seldom he also offers plausible emendations of passages, the corrupt reading of which have filled the dictionary with the quaintest possible and impossible words. It would exceed the limits of a review, were I to enlarge on any of these. Suffice it to say that the author displays good judgment and independence of mind in this direction.

Quite different, however, must our verdict be when we are to judge the methods or arrangement and the etymological system upon which the work is based. The first rule in arranging the words must be *consistency*. No lexicographer has a right to have an article on p. 15 on **אָנרַת** = letter, and another on p. 45 on **אִינְרַתָּא**, one on **אִינְרַיָּא** p. 24, one on **אִינְרַא** p. 39, one on **אִינְרַיָּא** p. 41, and again another on **אִינְרַא** p. 46. Every one using a dictionary is supposed to know so much of grammar as to look for **אוֹכַל** and **אִיכּוֹל** under **אָכַל**, for **אוֹלְפָן** under **אָלַף**, and for **אוֹנֵם** under **אָנַם**, or for **בִּישׁ** under **בָּאֵשׁ**, etc., etc. Nor is this defect only a formal one. A just saying of the rabbis is: **כָּל הַמוֹסִיף גּוֹרַע** “He who does too much detracts from the whole.” Single instances show that the author was himself misled. Take the root **אָנַר**. Here the author presents the following verbs: **אָנַר** I. = to gather, collect; **אָנַר** I. = to heap up; **אָנַר** II. to gird, arm; **אָנַר** II. = to hire, to employ, and **אָנַר** III. = rent, wages. This is followed by **אִינְרַת** = roof (from **אָנַר** II.) and **אִינְרַא** = letter (?) **אִינְרַת** from **נָנַר** to join. Now these Roman figures after Fuerst's style are simply misleading. **אָנַר** II. in the sense of girding, arming, does not exist except in late rabbinical mispronunciation! **אָנַר**, in Hebrew = gather, heap up, corresponds with the Aramæan **יָנַר** whence **יָנַר** = **אִינְרַת** = pile of stone and roof. Also the name of the “Roof-Demon” = **אִינְרַת** (see Levy s. v. **אִינְרַת**) is derived from the same root. The Aramæan **אָנַר** is hire, rent. All biliteral roots of the author must be discarded as based on theories which are to-day utterly exploded. These sometimes border on absurdity. So, for instance, **בָּאֵר** = to clear up, is derived from **בָּא בּוֹא** = come, or **בּוֹר** = to lie waste, from **בָּה**, or **בָּאֵשׁ** = to be in a bad state, from **בָּא**.

The worst feature of the work, however, is that the author rides a hobby, being desirous of upsetting all established rules of Aramæan lexicography and replacing them by a theory of his own. He is bent upon Hebraizing most of those

words generally admitted to be of foreign origin, and in doing so he ignores the fundamental law of all etymological research. Things in daily use are always called by names by which they are generally known, not by such as each people chose to give them. And as most tools and merchandise as well as commercial practices come by the way of Greek or Roman, later on of Persian market places, one is in most cases nearer the truth when searching for foreign terminology in connection with foreign things. Against this well-nigh axiomatic truth the author persistently shuts his eye whenever he finds an opportunity of advancing a Hebrew root in support of his pet theory. Quite characteristic is his (also Levy's) derivation of **אֵוִיר**, which is nothing else but the Greek *ἀήρ* = air, from **אֹוִר** = light, or of **אוכלוס**, **אוכלו** and **אכליותא** the Greek *οχλος* = crowd (from which the verb **אכלי** = to make noise, was derived) from **כלו** (?) = collegit (?); of **אוֹנָה**, **אוֹנִי** and **אוֹנִיתָא** (obviously the Greek *ὄνη* = deed, title of possession, from **אוֹנָה**? possession?) because **אוֹן** signifies power, strength. Likewise is the Greek *ἐννυ* = **אינא** = night-lodging, derived from **אנן** = **עון**, **חון**, etc., or such words as *δγκος* = **אונקי**, *δγκινος* = **אונקלי** = hook, derived from **אנק** = neck. That such a word of frequent occurrence as *κατάλυσσις* = market, fair, may in popular use be deformed into **עטליו** **אטליסית** or **אטליס**, Dr. Jastrow finds less probable than that the Jew should have coined for it a term of his own out of the root **טלל** and given it so un-Semitic a form as is **Atlez** or **Itlez**! Not even as common a word for inn as is *hospitium*, would be allowed to be accepted by the Jewish or Syrian traveler and pronounced **אוישפיזא**. Not at all. A good Hebraist is to have coined that word out of the root **נשף** evening-breeze!! So is the word **אזמיל** = the Greek *ζμίλη* = knife, traced to **זמל**, **מל**, **סמל**!!! or **אמצע** = *ἡμισυ* = half, between, to **מין**—to press!!!

That, in order to easily pronounce a diphthong in the word, the Semite, as a rule, puts the Alef Prostheticon before it as prefix, the author cannot help recognizing in such words as **אסטאיכא** = *stativa*, **אסטבלא** = *stabula*, **אסטימכא** = *stomachos*, **אסטרטא** = *strata*, **אסטרטיוט** *στρατιώτης*, **אסכדיא** (compare **אסדא** corrupt) = *σχεδια*, **אסכולי** = *σχολη*. And yet he persists in espying an Ethpael noun in **אסטגיות**, **אסטכיוא** (from **סכי**, **סכי**! = *στέγη*); in **אצטגנין** = **אסטליתא** = *στέγη* (from **סגנון**!) in **אצטלא** and **אסטליתא** = *στέγη* (from **טלל**!); in **אספלירא** = *ψαλίδιον* = vault (from **פלר**!); in **אספלנית** = *σπληνιον* = plaster, (from **בלי** or **בלט**!); in **איסטבא**, **איסטווא** = *στόα* = portico (from **סכב**!). Can there be any doubt that **איסמטא** = alley = *semita*, or **איסתניס** = *ἀσθενής* = feeble; **אמברא** = store = emporium; **אמבטי** = *ἐμβάτη* = bath-tub? Or that **אפוכי** is = *ἀποχή* = receipt? Or that the usual term for the heretic, skeptic, or any irreverent person **אפיקורוס** is the Greek *Epicurus*, our epicurean? Dr. Jastrow denies it all. He coins words, creates roots *ad libitum*, in firm, determined opposition to all adopted rules. Not even such words as **בסיס** = *βάσις*, basis, and **כימא** = *βῆμα* = elevated stand, are allowed to rank

among the foreign elements. Of course, we cannot but regret the author's waste of time and labor on a theory which no Orientalist can declare otherwise than fallacious.

Another theory the author advances which does not seem to have any stronger foundation either. It is that the rabbis intentionally changed the form of certain names in order to lend them a bad flavor, by way of cacophemism, as he calls it. Thus he finds in **בִּי אֲבִירִין**, a meeting-place for non-Jewish sects, a cacophemism for **בֵּית וְעֵדָא** = meeting-house (**אֲבִירִין** implying destruction!) But Wiesner in his scholien to Sabbath, p. 116, has convincingly shown that there existed two places where Christian and Parsees held their disputes, the one being at *Nicephorium* on the Euphrates, the other at *Bezabde* on the Tigris. These are called in the Talmud **בִּי נִצְרֵפִי** and **בִּי אֲבִירִין**. (See Ritter X. 167, 253). That these scenes were quite anachronistically placed in the time of Emperor Hadrian, is not surprising to the student of talmudical tradition. Likewise does the author espy cacophemism in **אִיצְטְרִין**, **אִצְטְרִיא**, **אִצְטְרִיא**, obviously the Greek *στάδιον*, as if it was purposely called place of ruins, from **צָרִי** or **צָרִי** and the like, whereas the corrupt forms are due to copyists and popular mispronunciations. The same is true of **בִּימוֹס** = *βωμός*, the Greek being probably derived from the Phœnician **כְּמָה** = altar, sacred hill top. It has nothing to do with **בִּי מִיָּאֹס** = house of ugliness.*

A good explanation is given by the author (see the preface) of the word **אֲנֶרְוֹלְמָסִיא** = *ἀνδροληψία* = "men-seizure;" of **אִפּוּפִי** as euphemism for **אֱלֹהֵי** cf. **יֹסִי אֵת יֹסִי** where **יֹסִי** stands for **יְהוָה** (Sanhedrin VIII., 6). But **אָמוֹס** = model, is not = "אֲמָאוֹס" nor as Levy has it = *μίμημα*—but a genuine formation of **אָמוֹס אָמוֹס** (cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 108).

In reference to proper nouns, we notice some misleading remarks, if, e. g., **אוֹנְקִלּוֹס** is called the alleged translator of the Pentateuch into Chaldaic, often surnamed **הֹגֵר**—the proselyte often identified with Aquila, the alleged (*sic*!) author of a Greek translation of the Bible. The fact is generally admitted by scholars that the actual name of the Greek translator of the Bible, *Aquila*, the Proselyte, being made the subject of Babylonian legends under the harder form of **אוֹנְקִלּוֹס**, was later on transferred to the Chaldaic Targum which is the work, not of one translator, but of gradual growth.

Under **אֲסִי** the author repeats the untenable derivation of the name given to Essenes from **אֲסִיא** = physician. The double s after the *e* ought to convince any linguist that this etymology is worthless, aside from the fact that Essenes were a religious sect, not a class or profession. As Frankel has long ago made it probable, the name **צְנוּעִים** (and **חֲשָׁאִים**) for the humble ones, comes nearest

* Only very rarely such cacophemism is found in the Talmud, as in **עֵין גְּלִיִּין** = sinful scroll for *εὐαγγέλιον* = the New Testament, Sabbath, 116a, s. v. **אֵין**.

to the pronunciation Essenes (and Essæans). Likewise might the author s. v. **ביתוס** have mentioned that the Boethusians are not by far as old as the Sadducees, notwithstanding the talmudical tradition to that effect, but that the founder of the sect and the grandfather of Martha are probably identical!

ארמילום, the Jewish Antichrist, has in spite of Levy and Graetz, nothing whatsoever to do with Romulus, but is, as I first singled out in a review of Prof. Levy's Targum Dictionary, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society in 1869, p. 693, the Persian *Aramainyus* or *Ahriman*, the antagonist of the (Persian) Saviour (Soschiosch) or Messiah.

אפיקטויזין = taking an emetic, I identified (eodem, p. 690) with *ἀποκαθαρσις*. Dr. Jastrow's suggestion to compare it with *ἀποκοτταβίζειν* = "to take an emetic before the meal," if such meaning of the word is proven, is more acceptable. We cannot, however, close our review without remarking that there is yet altogether too much conjecturing done in the field of talmudic lexicography, and unless the Syrian and Persian literature is thoroughly studied with a view to the archæology of the time, unless such works as those of Loew "Die Aramäische Pflanzennamen," of Fränkel "Die Aramäische Fremdwörter," and of Strack and Siegfried: "Lehrbuch d. Neuhebräischen Sprache" and Strack's "Joma," "Aboda Zara," have cleared the way for the talmudical scholar, all linguistic research will be but tentative and experimental. In the meantime each work is a welcome contribution, and so we part with the author, wishing him that his work shall grow in usefulness as he continues it in noble self-sacrifice.

PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS.*

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II. PRIESTLY AND "PROPHETIC" CODES IN THE HEXATEUCH.

The Law of Holiness, P¹.

Leviticus 17-26, and kindred passages.

In the legal portions of the Hexateuch the number of our authorities is diminished. Kittel confines himself to a general discussion of Deuteronomy and an assent to the general verdict of criticism which assigns Lev. 17-26 to P¹ and Ex. 25-31 to P². Delitzsch gives only an occasional hint in his "Studien," and although there is a considerable literature especially devoted to the "Law of Holiness," Lev. 17-26, and to Deuteronomy, we shall not add to the bibliography prefixed to the previous article. The three main authorities, Well., Kuen. and Dill. must suffice for our present purposes. With regard to the two former it should be said that the words, "it [P²] incorporated and added to P¹," on p. 216 of the preceding article, convey a false idea of their position. Well. and Kuen. hold that P¹ *was* incorporated with P², but by a third hand. The earliest fragment held by any of the critics to belong to this primitive priestly code is

1. [a Sabbath ordinance.]

Ex. 31:13ac, 14a (a "resemblance" to P¹ is suggested by Dill. in Ex. 6:6-8; 12:12b and 29:46; the fragment in 31:13f introduced by R).¹

2. [The law of sin-offerings, in trespasses against God and against one's neighbors.]

Lev. 5:1-6, 21-24a (in II., p. 373f, P¹, or at least some source prior to P², is recognized as lying at the basis of Lev. 2 [the law of meal-offerings], 5:1-7, 21-26 [as above + vs. 7 and 24b-26], and chs. 6 and 7 [the law of the six kinds of offering]. In the later volume only 5:1-6, 21-24a is ascribed to P¹; chs. 6 and 7 contain ancient *toroth*, possibly P¹'s, in the recension of P³).²

3. [The law of clean and unclean beasts: defilement by eating and from the touch.]

Fragments incorporated with P² in Lev. 11:1-23, 41-47 (11:24-40 and the basis of the rest of the chapter belongs to P². In II., p. 480f, 11:1-23, 41-44a = P¹j;

* Continued from the July number.

¹ Del. (XII.), Ex. 31:12-14. Well. and Kuen. = P³; the latter admits as *possible* an "influence from" P¹ in 6:6-8; 12:12b; 29:46 and 31:12-14a.

² Del. (XII.), 5:21-26. Well. and Kuen., Lev. 1-7 = P³.

11:24-40 and 44b-47 chiefly from P¹ in the recension of P². This view is modified in III., pp. 633 and 639f).³

4. [(?)Laws concerning uncleanness; uncleanness after childbirth; leprosy.]

The phrase **אִשׁ אִשׁ** in Lev. 15:2 leads Dillmann to infer that the ancient *toroth* lying at the basis of chs. 12-15 may have been derived from P¹ in the recension of P², or P³, especially in ch. 13f.⁴

5. The blood of beasts; slaughtering of animals to be at the central sanctuary; sacrifices to satyrs, or to any God but Yahweh forbidden; the blood is the life, is sacred, and must not be eaten; the blood of beasts taken in hunting to be poured on the ground and covered; eating of animals torn of beasts or dying of disease makes unclean till evening.

Lev. 17 (exc. vs. 4-6,7-9,13,15 = P², or were worked over by him).⁵

6. The law of prohibited degrees; different kinds of immorality and the sacrifice of children to Molech forbidden: a *torah* introduced and terminated by a special exhortation.

Lev. 18.⁶

7. A version of the Ten Words and a code in seven parts.

Lev. 19:1-8,9-18,19f,23-37 (21f, or 20-22 = R. Traces of P² in vs. 2a,8b,34a, 35b).⁷

8. The worship of Molech forbidden; the penalty for cursing parents; prohibition of various forms of impurity; a warning against the impurity of the Canaanites and prohibition of witchcraft.

Lev. 20 (exc. traces of P² in vs. 2,13,27b).⁸

9. Heathen mourning rites and immorality forbidden; directions for "the priest great above his brethren;" a blemish debars from the officiating priesthood.

Lev. 21 (exc. traces of P² in vs. 10,17 and 21-24).⁹

10. The cleanness of priests and their families; offerings must be unblemished; animals for sacrifice must not be killed before the eighth day.

Lev. 22 (exc. P² in vs. 3f,10-13,25).¹⁰

³ Del. (XII.) recognizes 11:43-45 at least, as P¹. Well., 11:1-23,41-47 introduced by R from some other source than P². Kuen., 11:1-23,41-47 probably = P¹. Kitt. (I., p. 115) finds P¹ in parts of ch. 11.

⁴ Well. and Kuen., P³.

⁵ Well., ch. 17 (exc. vs. 1,2a and **אֵל פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** in vs. 4,6,9). Kuen., ch. 17 (exc. v. 2 and **וְאֵל פִּי** in v. 4,6,9).

⁶ (Traces of P² in vs. 22 and 26b). Well., Kuen., Lev. 18 (vs. 1-5,24-30 = P¹, the compiler of the "Heiligkeitgesetz," H. G.; vs. 6-23, his material).

⁷ Well., *id.* (exc. vs. 1,2a,21f = R; v. 19f = P¹, i. e., the compiler of the "Heiligkeitgesetz," H. G.). Kuen., ch. 19 (exc. 21f = R; v. 37 = P¹ compiler of "H. G."). Del. (XII.), 19:20-22 = P¹.

⁸ Well., ch. 20 (vs. 1-9,22-27 are distinguished from the rest of the chapter as belonging to the compiler of the collection, P¹, whereas vs. 10-21 are his material, a passage duplicating ch. 18). Kuen., ch. 20 (vs. 22-27 = P¹; vs. 1-21 a *torah* parallel to ch. 18).

⁹ Well., ch. 21 (exc. traces of R in vs. 1 and 17; **מִזְרַע אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד** in v. 7 read **יָקַח**; vs. 5 and 6 = H. G.; the rest P¹). Kuen., ch. 21 (exc. P² in vs. 1,17,21,23,24).

¹⁰ Well., ch. 22. Kuen., ch. 22 (exc. vs. 2,4,18 and 29f [= P³]; 31-33 = P¹); chs. 21 and 22 from another source than ch. 19.

11. The law of the feast of *mazzoth*, of Pentecost, and of tabernacles.

Lev. 23:9-20 (traces of P² in vs. 11-14), 22,39-43 (P² in v. 39), (vs. 1-8,21,23-38,44 = P²).¹¹

12. The penalty of blasphemy and bloodshed; the *lex talionis*.

Lev. 24:15-23 (exc. vs. 16 and 23, and traces in v. 22 = P²); vs. 1-14 also = P².¹²

13. The sabbatical year [and year of jubilee]; idols and *maçgebhoth* forbidden.

Lev. 25:18-22, and traces throughout the chapter; 26:1f (25:1-7,8-17,23-55 = P² on a basis of P¹).¹³

14. A paraenetic conclusion to the "Law of Holiness" by the compiler: promises of blessing in case of obedience, and of plagues and curses in case of disobedience; the captivity foretold; the land to lie fallow during the exile and "enjoy her Sabbaths;" repentance in the land of captivity will restore Yahweh's favor; colophon to the code.

Lev. 26:3-46.¹⁴

15. [(?)The law of the ordeal for jealousy; the water of bitterness mixed with the dust of the sanctuary conveying a curse.]

Num. 5:11-31(?) (a "resemblance" to P¹ in Num. 3:13).¹⁵

16. [The holy trumpets; fringes, cords and borders to be worn upon the garment; (?)the heave-offering of the first dough.]

Num. 10:9f; 15:38(37)-41 and perhaps vs. 18(17)-21.¹⁶

The Code of the Priestly Lawbook, P².

Exodus 25—Numbers 36.

1. The pattern shown in the mount; directions to Moses for the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture.

a) A contribution to be made by the people for the purposes of the sanctuary.

Ex. 25:1-9.¹⁷

¹¹ Well. and Kuen., 23:9-22,39-44 (exc. 'השביע...ביוםשש and from ביום on, in v. 39, [= R]. The rest of ch. 23 = P², exc. v. 3, assigned by Kuen. to P³). Del., 23:9-22 (vs. 1-8,23-38,44 = P²; 39-43 = R).

¹² Well., 24:15-22 (vs. 1-9 = P²; vs. 10-14 and 23 = P²). Kuen., 24:15-22*. Del. (XII.), 24:15-22 (vs. 1-14,23 = P²).

¹³ Well., Lev. 25:1-7,14-22 (35-38(?)) and traces underlying vs. 8-13,39-55; 26:1f (v. 23 = P³ and belongs after v. 18; vs. 24-28 = P³, or perhaps P¹ thoroughly worked over by R; vs. 29-34 = P³; v. 9b = R). Kuen., 25:1-7,18-22 (vs. 18-22 = P¹ as distinguished from his material, H. G.), and traces in 8-17,23-55, especially in vs. 14-17,35-38 (the rest of ch. 25 = P²); 26:1f. Del. (XII.), Lev. 25 = P¹ and P².

¹⁴ *Id.* (P¹ as distinguished from his material).

¹⁵ Well. and Kuen., P³.

¹⁶ Well., 10:9f = P²; ch. 15 perhaps from the redactor, not the author, of P¹. Kuen., Num. 15:37-41 (10:9f = P²; 15:1-16,17-21,22-31 and 32-36 = ordinances collected and incorporated by the redactor of P¹ according to Wellhausen's conjecture). Well. and Kuen. find also in Num. 33:52, 55f, a fragment characteristic of P¹, but Kuen. attributes the resemblance to imitation on the part of P² or of R. Well. thinks the verses a fragment of P¹ incorporated by P². Dill. considers them a fragment of J inserted by R. Del. (XII), Num. 15:37-41 = P¹.

¹⁷ *Id.*

b) The pattern of the ark of the covenant and the cherubim; of the table of shew-bread; of the golden candlestick; conclusion of the section.

Ex. 25:10-22, 23-30, 31-38, 39, 40 (v. 37 misplaced(?)).¹⁸

c) Details for the construction of the tabernacle; for the veil and the furniture.

Ex. 26:1-30, 31-37.¹⁹

d) The pattern of the altar; of the fore-court of the tabernacle.

Ex. 27:1-8, 9-19 (vs. 20, 21 = R from P² elsewhere).²⁰

2. Aaron and his sons appointed to the priesthood.

a) The priestly garments; the ephod; the breast-plate; the mantle; the frontlet, tunic, turban and girdle.

Ex. 28:1-5, 6-14, 15-30, 31-35, 36-40.²¹

b) [Directions for the investiture of Aaron and his sons; linen breeches.]

Ex. 28:41-43.²²

3. Directions for the consecration and installation of Aaron and his sons in the priest's office.

Ex. 29:1-35.²³

4. [An atonement for the altar; an epilogue promising the divine presence in the tent of meeting].

29:36f, 43-46 (vs. 38-42 = R, from P² in Num, 28; in III. p. 636, from Num. 8).²⁴

5. [The divine appointment of Bezalel and Oholiab to the workmanship.]

31:1-6 (30:1-10(?), 11-16; 31:12-17 = R, from elsewhere in P², including a trace of P¹ in 31:12-17. The rest, viz. 30:17-21, 22-28; 31:7-11, = P³).²⁵

6. Moses receives the tables of the testimony and descends from Sinai; his shining face.

Ex. 31:18a; 32:15a; 34:29-32 (34:33-35 = R).²⁶

7. Execution of the directions given to Moses; the cloud fills the sanctuary.

According to the critics Ex. 35-40 is nearly, or quite, all P³. Of our authorities Dill. alone traces a nucleus of P² in 35:1-3, 4f, 20f; 36:2-6; 40:1f, 34-38, and the basis of Num. 9:15-23 and of Num. 7. Well. and Kuen. assign the entire mass to P³. With regard to Lev. 1-8 there is equal harmony. Well. and Kuen. assign all of chs. 1-7 to P³ and all but the basis of ch. 8. Dill. admits (III., p. 641) that Lev. 1-7 in its present form and present position cannot belong to P² and further

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

²⁰ *Id.* (vs. 20f, P³ according to Kuen. and Well.).

²¹ *Id.* (exc. v. 13f; assigned by Well. to P³).

²² P³ according to Well. and Kuen.

²³ Well. and Kuen. 29:1-34 (v. 35 = P³).

²⁴ Well. and Kuen. P³.

²⁵ Del. (III.), 30:1-10 = P²; 11-16 = P³. Well. and Kuen., chs. 30 and 31:1-17 = P³.

²⁶ Kitt., 31:18a (possibly part of 32:15 and v. 35); 34:29-32 (33-35); Well., 31:18a; 34:29-35. Kuen., לחת הערת, in 31:18a (34:29-35 = P³).

admits the working over P² has received in ch. 8. The laws of different kinds of offerings in Lev. 1-7 were inserted by P³, but they contain, beside the fragments of P¹ already noted (5:1-6, 21-24a), some truly ancient *toroth* (e. g. 6:2-6), and in general there are no special reasons for denying that chs. 1-3 were derived from P². Ch. 4 is a late substitute for P²'s law, now perhaps found in Num. 15:22-31, whereas Lev. 5:14-19 seems to be from P² and derived from the position now occupied by the late substitute Num. 5:5-10. The proper position for these fragments Dill. holds to be approximately that now occupied by Num. 7, where the fragment Num. 8:1-4 still remains *in situ*.

a) [A Sabbath ordinance; the free-will offering taken; the work committed to Bezalel and Oholiab.]

Ex. 35:1-3, 4f, 20f; 36:2-6.²⁷

b) [The tabernacle erected and occupied; the oblations of the princes of the tribes; the golden candlestick, its pattern, and the provision for lighting; oil required; the shew-bread; the lamp lighted]; the cloud on the tabernacle as the signal for marching and encamping.

Ex. 40:1f, 34-38; the basis of Num. 7:1-89 (specifically v. 89); Ex. 25:37; 27:20f; 37:20f; Lev. 24:1-9; Num. 8:1-4; the basis of Num. 9:15-23 (Num. 7 and 9:15-23 in its present form = P³; the rest = fragments scattered by R).²⁸

8. Aaron and his sons consecrated to the priesthood.

Lev. 8*.²⁹

9. The inauguration of the ritual; Aaron offers the first sacrifices and blesses the people.

Lev. 9.³⁰

10. The sacrilege and death of Nadab and Abihu; [directions to Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar]; the priests' dues of the meal offerings to be consumed beside the altar.

Lev. 10:1-5, 6-11, 12-15 (vs. 8-11 abbreviated by R; vs. 16-20 = R).³¹

11. Fragments of a code of laws concerning offerings, ritual, and ceremonial cleanness, the whole now displaced by Lev. (11) 12-15 (a collection of laws concerning cleanness assigned by all the critics to P³).

a) [The continual burnt offering.]

Ex. 29:38-42.³²

b) [The law of burnt offerings from the herd, from the flock, of fowls; meal offerings burnt; the same baked; the same of first fruits; peace offerings from the herd; from the flock; from the goats.]

²⁷ Well. and Kuen. = P³.

²⁸ Well. and Kuen., Ex. 25:37 and Num. 9:15-23 = P² in their present positions; the rest = P³.

²⁹ Well. and Kuen. = P³, superseding a brief statement in P² of the fulfilment of the commands in Ex. 25 seq.

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ Well. and Kuen., Lev. 10:1-5, 12-15 (vs. 6-11 and 16-20 = R).

³² Well. and Kuen. = P³

Lev. 1:1-9,10-13,14-17; 2:1-3,4-13,14-16; 3:1-5,6-11,12-17.³³

c) [The law of sin offering; of trespass-offering.]

Num. 15:22-31 (v. 31*); Lev. 5:14-19 (each of these passages is duplicated by P³, the former in Lev. 4, the position formerly occupied by Num. 15:22-31, the latter in Num. 5:5-10; Lev. 5:1-6[7],21-24a[26] = P¹; vs. 7[8]-13,20[24b-26] = R, or P²).³⁴

d) [Conclusion of P²'s law of offerings: the meal-offerings which must accompany different kinds of burnt-offering.]

Num. 15:1-16.³⁵

e) [The law of cleanness: beasts that may and may not be eaten; uncleanness from the touch of certain beasts' carcasses; creeping things abominable; colophon.]

Lev. 11:24-40,44b-47 and the basis of the rest of the chapter, Num. 5:1-4 (Lev. 6f,11, except the portions just indicated, and 12-15 are from the hand of P³, who presents herein ancient *toroth* worked over in the place of P²'s law, which in the case of Num. 5:1-4 was displaced by Lev. 12-15).³⁶

12. How and when the holy place shall be entered; the ritual of atonement for Aaron and his house; for the sanctuary and people; the goat for Azazel; the day of atonement appointed.

Lev. 16 (abbreviated by R after vs. 2 and 28 to transform it from a general direction for the purification of the sanctuary when accidentally defiled, to a periodical ceremony. From R come also the glosses **בגרי** and **קדש הם בגרי** in vs. 4 and 32).³⁷

13. The appointment and ritual of the sacred feasts: passover; *mazzoth*; new-year (ecclesiastical); the day of atonement; tabernacles.

Lev. 23:1-8,21,23-38,44 and traces in vs. 11-14 and 39. (For fragments of P² in chs. 17-22 see under P¹, p. 8).³⁸

14. The law of blasphemy on the occasion of cursing in the camp. Lev. 24:10-14,16,23, and a trace in v. 22.³⁹

15. [The sabbatical year; the year of jubile; the redemption of inheritances; regulations for the conveyance of real estate; usury; the Hebrew must not be enslaved: if sold to a foreigner, he must be redeemed by the next of kin.]

Lev. 25:1-7,8-17,23-31,35-55 = P² on a basis of P¹ (vs. 32-34 = P³).⁴⁰

³³ Well. and Kuen. = P³.

³⁴ Well. and Kuen. = P³.

³⁵ Well. and Kuen. = P³ (in this case probably the incorporator of P¹ with P³).

³⁶ Well., Lev. 11-15, Num. 5:1-4 = P³. Kuen., ditto, Lev. 11 containing, in vs. 2-23,41-47, material from P¹.

³⁷ Well. and Kuen., Lev. 16 = P².

³⁸ Well., 23:1-8,23-38. Kuen., ditto, exc. v. 3 = P³. Del. (xii.), 23:1-8,23-38,44.

³⁹ Well. and Kuen., 24:1-9,10-14,23 = P³. Del. (xii.), 24:1-9,10-14,23 = P².

⁴⁰ Well., 25:8-13 = P³ on a basis of P¹; vs. 24-28 = P² or P³; 29-34 = P³; 39-55 = P¹ worked over by P³ or R. Kuen., vs. 8-17,23-55 (exc. traces of P¹ in vs. 14-17,35-38 and some others). Del. (xii.), Lev. 25 = P¹ and P².

16. [The law of vows; the redemption of persons dedicated; of cattle; of a house; of a field; the firstling already dedicated; no devoted thing may be redeemed; redemption of the tithe; colophon.]

Lev. 27.⁴²

17. Directions for the taking of a census of the people; results of the census; [the order of marching and encampment].

Num. 1. (Ch. 2 an interpolation by P³, the material drawn from P² and originally standing in Num. 10:13-28).⁴²

18. [The *toledoth* of Aaron and Moses; the Levites assigned to Aaron and his sons as servants of the sanctuary; the census of the Levites.]

Num. 3:1-39 (vs. 32 and 36 worked over, and vs. 24-26, 29-31, 36-38 taken from ch. 4; vs. 40-51 = P³).⁴³

19. [Direction to number the sons of Kohath; census of the three families of Levi, Kohath Gershon and Merari].

Num. 4:1-3, 34-48 (vs. 4-33, 49 = P³).⁴⁴

20. [The consecration of the Levites.]

Num. 8:5-10, 13b, 14, 12, 13a, 15a, 20, 22. Vs. 11, 15b-19, 21, 23-26 = P³. Num. 5:1-4; 6:22-27, the basis of ch. 7 and 8:1-4 are fragments of P² belonging in a different connection and have already been assigned to their original position [according to Dill.]. Num. 5:5-10 = P³ [corresponding to P² in Lev. 5:14-19]; 5:11-31; 6:1-21 = P³ on a basis of ancient *toroth*.⁴⁵

21. [An after-passover for the ceremonially unclean.]

A brief notice underlying Num. 9:1-14 (vs. 15-23 = P² belonging in a different connection; see v. 7b).⁴⁶

22. Directions concerning the silver trumpets; the journey resumed from Sinai.

Num. 10:1-4, 6b, 8 (v. 9f = P¹; vs. 5, 6a, 7 from the hand [P² or R] which incorporated v. 9f), 11f (vs. 13-28 = P³).⁴⁷

23. [Stoning of the Sabbath-breaker.](?)

Num. 15:32-36(?) (this passage perhaps = P³; the priestly elements of chs. 11-14 are given in the preceding article; 15:1-16, 22-30 are fragments of the displaced law of offerings of P²; v. 31 = R; vs. 17-21 = P¹).⁴⁸

24. Rank and functions of the priests and Levites; the priests' dues; tithes for the Levites; the tithe of the tithe a heave-offering.

⁴¹ Del. (XII.), *id.*; Well. and Kuen., Lev. 27 = P³.

⁴² Well., Num. 1:1-16, 49-54 (vs. 17-47 = P³ v. 48 = R); ch. 2. Kuen., Num. 1 and 2.

⁴³ Well., Num. 3:1-4 = R; vs. 5-13 = P²; 14-51 = P³. Kuen., 3:1-4 = R; vs. 5-51 = P².

⁴⁴ Well., ch. 4 = P³. Kuen., ch. 4 = P².

⁴⁵ Well. and Kuen., Num. 5-8 = P³.

⁴⁶ Well. and Kuen., 6:1-14 = P³ (vs. 15-23 = P², in their present position).

⁴⁷ Well. and Kuen., Num. 9:15-10:28 = P².

⁴⁸ Well. and Kuen., Num. 15 = laws collected and incorporated by the same hand which introduced Lev. 17-26 (P³).

Num. 18 (exc. v. 16 [= R]). Chs. 16 and 17—mutiny of Korah; plating of the altar with the censers of Korah's company; the plague arrested by Aaron's intercession; budding of Aaron's rod—are treated in the preceding article; 17: 6-28 is unanimously assigned to P².⁴⁹

25. Directions for the distribution of the inheritances; boundaries of Canaan; a prince from each tribe appointed to divide the inheritances.

Num. 33:50f,54; 34:1-15 (vs. 13-15*), 16-29 (33:52f,55f = J). Num. 19:1-33:49 has been treated in the preceding article, with exception of the four legal chapters, 19 and 28-30. These four chapters are unanimously assigned to P³, with the qualification in Dillmann's case that ch. 19 has a basis of ancient *toroth* like those underlying Lev. 6f; chs. 26f (P²) and 31 (P³) are not readily separable from the legislative group at the end of Numbers, but have already been considered in the former article.⁵⁰

26. Appointment of the cities of the Levites, and the cities of refuge; the law of asylum for the cities of refuge.

Num. 35.⁵¹

27. Final adjustment of the inheritance of females; the daughters of Zelophehad marry cousins; [colophon].

Num. 36.⁵²

The Code of the "Prophetic" Hexateuch.⁵³

Deuteronomy.

Deuteronomy spontaneously divides itself into two parts, a) the code, properly so-called, chs. 12-26, and b) the chapters preceding and following this nucleus of legislative material, which serve the purpose of connecting it with the Hexateuch history. As there is practically no disagreement among the critics concerning the former division it will be needless to discuss it in detail. It consists of

⁴⁹ Well. and Kuen., ch. 18.

⁵⁰ Well., 33:50-56 (perhaps incorporating a fragment of P¹ in vs. 52f) and ch. 34. Kuen., 33:50-34:29.

⁵¹ *Id.*

⁵² Well., ch. 36. Kuen., ch. 36 (exc. v. 13 = R).

⁵³ In speaking of Deuteronomy as "the" code of the "prophetic" portion of the Hexateuch, it must be premised that the expression is not literally applicable. Deuteronomy, according to all the critics, is the work of an author later than either J or E, and in the sense of separate origin may be said to be independent of the "prophetic" authors, but in the matter of literary material "independent" is the last word to use. The work not only occupies the stand-point of JE, but professedly and intentionally reproduces what in some respects has a better claim to the title: "the code of the 'prophetic' Hexateuch," viz., the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20-23. See preceding article), which according to Kuenen occupied in the original document of E the same relative position which Deuteronomy subsequently obtained in the Hexateuch. If we pass over thus the claims of the Book of the Covenant it is merely because D, from his position of literary dependence upon both J and E for historical and legal material alike, deserves to represent the "prophetic" law in contrast with the priestly. His version of the code, Ex. 20-23, although freely expanded, and in some particulars modified, is yet in the spirit a thoroughly faithful reproduction of what the author regards as the *torah* of Moses, viz., the writings already designated as "prophetic." These statements are in accordance with the unanimous opinions of the critics.

a) Laws addressed to the people for their guidance after the occupation of Canaan, concerning: a single place of worship; the blood of beasts shed elsewhere than at the altar; false gods, and enticement to worship them by prophet or fellow-citizens; the idolatrous city to be devoted; heathen mourning rites and the eating of unclean beasts forbidden; tithes for the sanctuary, and hospitality for the Levite; the year of release; compassion for the poor and the enslaved; firstlings; pass-over, the feast of weeks, and tabernacles; the administration of justice; [idolatry and a blemished sacrifice forbidden;] the priests a court of appeal in the administration of justice; [the king's conduct;] provision for the Levites; heathen practises forbidden; the prophet to be the guide in religious matters; manslaughter and the cities of refuge; removal of the ancient landmark forbidden; the law of testimony and *lex talionis*; military provisions; exemption from military duty; mitigation of the severities of war and siege, except against Canaanites; expiation of untraceable bloodshed; management of domestic affairs; bodies of executed criminals must be promptly buried; various regulations of social life; treatment of mutilated persons and foreigners; cleanness in the camp; various humane regulations; divorce; brief injunctions for justice, humanity and morality in various spheres; the levirate; impure action and fraud forbidden; vengeance must be taken on Amalek; gratitude to God inculcated in the offering of first-fruits; the tithe of the third year for the Levite, stranger, widow, and orphan; a prayer and confession and form of sacred covenant.

Deut. 12-26 (16:21-17:7 perhaps belongs after 12:31 and was misplaced by Rd).⁵⁴

b) The historical introductions and appendices to the code of D (chs. 1-11, 27-34). With regard to these introductions and appendices there is also but slight difference of opinion; all the critics are agreed that the more original introduction to the code is chs. 5-11, and all but Well. attribute it to the same hand as chs. 12-26 (Del. also might perhaps be excepted, who considers the basis of chs. 12-26 Mosaic; see (x.)). A second introduction is formed by 1:6-4:40. Dill. and Kitt. considers this to have been originally a synopsis by D, of the history in JE (more especially E) worked over by Rd into a speech by Moses after the pattern of chs 5-11 to avoid the obvious repetition. Aside from this change from the 3d to the 2d person of the verb, the introduction of a few historical notes (e. g. 2:10-12, 20-23; 3:10f, 13b, 14; 4:41-43) also derived from D¹, and ch. 4 (D¹) removed from its original position after ch. 26, Deut. 1-26 is substantially what it was when it left the hand of its author. Well., Kuen. and Del. consider 1:6-4:40 the composition of D². (Well., and perhaps Del., D³).

⁵⁴ *Id.* (Well. and Kuen. consider 16:21-17:7 [Kuen., at least 16:21-17:1] misplaced [Well., perhaps D²] and Well. assigns to D² 15:4f; 17:14-20 and 23:5-7, and is suspicious of at least a working over of ch. 20).

1. [A few words to designate the place of Moses' declaration of the law in the general history; Israel reminded of the departure from Horeb; of the appointment of officers to assist Moses; of Kadesh-barnea and the sending of the spies; of the murmuring of the people and their presumptuous attack upon the Amorites; of the journey by the way of the Red Sea and peaceful passage through Edom; of the similar treatment of Moab, and of the generation which died in the wilderness; of the capture of the territory of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the battle of Jahaz; of the capture of Bashan from Og, and settlement of Reuben, Gad and half-Manasseh there; of Moses' forewarning of his death, and the direction to give a charge to Joshua; an appeal to the people to obey the law now to be given; a reminder of Baal-peor and Horeb, and forewarning against the corrupt worship of the Canaanites; disobedience will be followed by exile, but sincere repentance in captivity will regain the favor of God, and bring to his remembrance the covenant, as when he brought them out of Egypt.]

Deut. 1:6-4:40* (exc. 2:10-12, 20-23; 3:10f, 13b, 14 = R^d from D; also 1:1f, 4f; 4:41-43 = R^d from D; 1:3 = P²).⁵⁵

2. [(Superscription of the code); Moses rehearses the Ten Words of the covenant, and the story of the theophany at Horeb; exhortation to keep the commandment; to love Yahweh; to be faithful to his worship; to observe the law and teach it to the children; the total destruction of the Canaanites and of the instruments of their worship enjoined; faithful observance of the commandment to be pure from Canaanitism will ensure the all-powerful help of Yahweh; exhortation to remember God's dealing and to beware of vain glorying; exhortation to humility in view of the fact that their position as God's chosen people is not due to their own righteousness; the incidents of the golden calf, of Taberah, Massah and Kibroth-hattaavah recalled as examples of their unworthiness; (the story of the renewal of the covenant and the departure from Horeb recalled;); a renewed exhortation to love and obey Yahweh supported by reference to the wonders in Egypt and at the Red Sea, and the death of Dathan and Abiram; a blessing promised for obedience; the blessing and curse to be set before the people on Ebal and Gerizim, as they enter the land.]

Deut. 4:44-11:32 (exc. 4:44-49; 5:5, 23; 6:3; 7:22; 9:4, 20; 10:19 = R^d; 9:25-10:11 belongs in the introduction and was removed thence by R^d; 11:29-31 was removed by him from D¹'s appendix).⁵⁶

3. [A hortatory conclusion to the code; the blessings in detail which will follow obedience; the curses in detail which will follow disobedience; colophon to the code.]

⁵⁵ So Kitt.; Well. and Kuen., Deut. 1-4:43 = D² (exc. 1:2(3)-5, 39 [cf. LXX.]; 4:44(?) = R). Del., 1:6-4:40 = D².

⁵⁶ Kuen., Kitt. and Del., 4:44-11:32. Well., 4:44-11:32 = D², a writer earlier than the author of chs. 1-4, but later than D¹.

Deut. 27:9f; 28:1-68* (27:1-3 = R^d from D elsewhere [see below]; vs. 5-7a = E; 4,7b,8,11-13,14-26 = R^d; 4:1-40 and 11:29-31 belong after ch. 26 and were removed by R^d).⁵⁷

4. [Direction to write the law upon plastered stones; Moses forewarns the people of his death and encourages them under leadership of Joshua to pursue the conquest; he writes the law and delivers it to the priests; he makes a final farewell address; an adjuration to all the assembly to abhor strange gods, and warning against the wrath of Yahweh; a promise that when the curse has been realized true repentance in exile will bring restoration; the law is brought near, that its observance may be their life; Moses' death and burial.]

Deut. 27:1b-3 (instead of 1a [= R^d] read ויצו משה את-הזקני ישראל; 31:1-8,9-13,24-26a,28f; 32:45-47; 28:69-30:20 in part, and traces in 34:(1b)5f,11f; (28:69-30:20 is an expansion by R^d of an original address by D¹, of which 30:11-20 and traces in ch. 4 are preserved intact; 31:14f,23 = E; 16-22 = J; 26b,27 and 30 = R^d; 32:1-44 = J; vs. 48-52 = P²; ch. 33 = a poem incorporated by E; 34:1a [to נבוי], v. 5 in part, 7a,8f = P²; ויראהו...הארץ in v. 1b and v. 4 = J; v. 10 = E; last four words of v. 1, vs. 2f,7b of uncertain origin).⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Well., Deut. 27 = D² on the basis of an older source. Kuen., 27:9f; 28:1-69 (27:1-4,7b,8 = R; vs. 5-7a = E; 11-13,14-26 = R). Del., ch. 27f = D². Kitt., 27:9f; 28:1-69.

⁵⁸ Kuen. and Kitt. attribute 28:69 and 31:9-13 to D¹ (Well. and Del., D²), and Kitt., 34:4 and 6 in part, 11f. The rest of chs. 29-34 is assigned by all the critics, except Dill., to authors other than D¹, as follows: 27:1-3 = R^d (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well. and Del., D²); ch. 29f = D² (so Kuen. and Kitt.; Well. [and Del. (?)], D²); 31:1-8 = D² (so Well. and Kuen.); vs. 14f and 23 = E; vs. 16-22,24-30 = D² (so Kuen.; Well. and Kitt., vs. 14-23 = JE [E]); 32:1-44 = an incorporation by JE (R^d) (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., vs. 1-43 a substitute for E's poem introduced by R^d; v. 44 = E); vs. 45-47 = R^d; 48-52 = P² (so Well., Kuen. and Kitt.); ch. 33 = an independent poem (so Well., Kuen. and Del.); Kitt., v. 1 = E; vs. 2-29 incorporated by E; ch. 34 includes, besides the fragments of JE, and P² elsewhere designated, only D² (so Well. and Kuen.; Kitt., vs. 4 and 6 in part, 11f = D¹).

THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION.* I. GEN. 1:1—12:5.†

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A. INTRODUCTORY.

In presenting and criticising the alleged Pentateuchal (more strictly Hexateuchal) Analysis, the writers have agreed upon the following points:

1. The first paper of each writer will cover Gen. 1-12:5; the second and third papers, Gen. 12:6-50; the remaining papers, later portions of the Hexateuch according to the circumstances of the case.

2. There will first be given the presentation of the facts and considerations urged in favor of the analysis (i. e. the more commonly accepted analysis which finds four distinct works combined by one or more editors or Redactors). This will be followed by a counter-statement or criticism.

3. Since the work has for its purpose to place the essential material and the most important considerations relating to the question to be discussed in a form which will enable the biblical students of America to grasp most easily the true merits of the case, the plan of presentation will be made strictly to conform to this purpose.

4. The material will be examined chapter by chapter, section by section; the facts will thus be collected step by step. Conclusions will not be advanced until the facts have been duly considered.

5. In the nature of the case, both writers will be restricted as to the space which may be used; yet an earnest effort will be made to introduce everything that is really important.

6. The question at issue is not, (1) What are the particular details of the analysis of the Hexateuch? or, (2) Granting the existence of documents, what relations do these documents sustain to each other? but, (3) *Are there really distinct documents?* i. e. such as the analysis of critics of the present generation presents? As a matter of course, material belonging strictly to the first and second questions will come up for consideration; still the discussion itself is upon the third question.

*THE ALLEGED FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF THE PENTATEUCHAL ANALYSIS PRESENTED AND CRITICIZED BY *Professors Harper* (of Yale) and *Green* (of Princeton).

† The consideration of this same material by Professor Green will appear in the January HEBRAICA.

7. The article by Rev. B. W. Bacon on "The Pentateuchal Analysis" in July *HEBRAICA*, with its continuation in the present number, will be found to contain a very accurate statement of the various views relating to the exact material of each document. In view of the publication of this article the writers will be enabled to present the case within a much shorter compass than would otherwise have been possible.

B. THE FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS URGED IN FAVOR OF THE ANALYSIS OF GENESIS 1:1-12:5.*†

I. The Material as a whole.

1. To a priestly writer (hereafter referred to as P) critics assign the following portions:

1) The *tôl'dhôth* (*generations*) of the heavens and earth (creation, Sabbath), chs. 1:1-2:4a (the original title 2:4a having been removed by the Redactor from before 1:1, or from before 1:2, in which case 1:1 was substituted for it).

2) The *tôl'dhôth* of Adam (genealogical table of ten generations, the tenth branching into three), ch. 5:1-32 (exc. v. 29).

3) The *tôl'dhôth* of Noah (deluge (365 days), covenant with Noah, Noachic legislation), chs. 6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,23b,24; 8:1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,28,29.

4) The *tôl'dhôth* of the sons of Noah (ethnological table deriving the nations of the world from Noah's sons), ch. 10:1-7,20,22,23,31,32.

5) The *tôl'dhôth* of Shem (genealogical table of ten generations branching into three, Abram, Nahor and Haran), ch. 11:10-26.

6) The *tôl'dhôth* of Terah (migration of Terah, settlement of Abram and Lot in Canaan), chs. 11:27,31 (worked over by R), 32; 12:4b,5; [13:6,11b,12a, etc., to be taken up in another article].

* In the following presentation I have made a free use of the material furnished by all the leading writers upon the subject; cf. the list of works mentioned in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IV., pp. 218, 219. I do not in each case name the writers who, before me, have presented the same matter, (1) because in most cases it would be necessary to name several writers; (2) because the great mass of the material has now become common property; (3) because to have done this would have required more space than could under any circumstances have been accorded the article; and chiefly (4) because, from the stand-point of the discussion, it is a matter of no consequence what a given critic thinks, the real question being whether, in the opinion of the student, the text under examination furnishes the fact stated; our work has to do with the text of Genesis and not with the critics of that text.

W. R. H.

† In this presentation, many statements will be made, especially under the heads of "material" and "theology," which to the student who for the first time considers this question may seem wholly inconsistent with any proper estimate of the contents of Scripture. Such a student will find it advantageous, thus from the very beginning of his work, to learn what is involved in an acceptance of the analysis. It is not, as is so often asserted, a merely literary question. Its decision carries with it the decision of many and important questions relating to the meaning and value of the sacred writings.

W. R. H.

2. To a prophetic writer (hereafter referred to as J) critics assign the following portions :

1) Beginning of the world, paradise, sin and curse, ch. 2:4b-3:24 (except (1) the word **אלהים** which regularly follows **יהוה** ; (2) 3:20 which was either misplaced or inserted by R ; and perhaps (3) 2:10-15).

2) Adam's descendants, Cain and Abel, genealogy of seven generations branching into three, song of Lamech, ch. 4:1-15 ((1) probably out of its original place, (2) **חווה** (v. 1) by R), 17-24,25,26 ; 5:29 (the material of 4:17-24 being from an earlier source).

3) Sons of God and daughters of men, corruption, ch. 6:1-8 (except (1) **וגם אחריכן** v. 4 ; (2) **בראתי מאדם השמים** and v. 7, which are by R) ; but compare what is said later (p. 39) concerning this passage.

4) Deluge of forty days ; rescue of Noah ; Noah's sacrifice ; Yahweh's promise, ch. 7:1,2,3 (in part), 4,5,7 (in part), 10,12,16b,17,22,23 (in part) ; 8:2b,3a,6-12,13b, 20-22 (R being responsible for 7:3a,7 in part, 8,9,22,23 in part).

5) Noah's husbandry, prophetic song, peopling of the earth from Noah's sons, ch. 9:20-27,18,19 ; 10:8,10-12,13-19,21,24-30 (of which (1) 9:20-27 is from a special source, (2) 10:9,24,14 in part(?) and **וארמיה וצבים** (v. 19) are by R).

6) Tower of Babel, dispersion, Abram and his family, ch. 11:1-9 (see, however, p. 56), 28-30 (exc. **באיר כשרים** = R).

7) Abram called ; journey with Lot, ch. 12:1-4a.

3. The differences of opinion between the chief critics have been minutely indicated by Mr. Bacon in the article already referred to. These variations may be classified as follows :

1) Cases in which some critics enter into a more minute analysis and find traces in a single document of two or three strata (called P¹, P², J¹, J², etc.), e. g. the entire J portion of Gen.1-12, which by Wellhausen, Budde, Kuenen and Kittel is supposed to have come into its present form from a combination of two sources (see pp. 59-62).

2) Cases in which (a) critics differ as to the particular document to which a given verse should be assigned ; e. g. (1) Gen. 7:23b (= P) is given to J by Bud., Kuen., Del., and Kautzsch and Socin ; * (2) 7:6a (= P) is given to R by Well. ; (3) 11:28 and 30 (= J) is given to P by Well. and K. and Soc. ; (b) the variations are very minute, the evidence either way being so slight as to make it difficult to determine the real place ; e. g. (1) 11:31 **מאיר כשרים**, given by Dil. to R, by Bud. to J², but by Del. and Kitt. regarded as P ; (2) **חם אבי** (9:22) = R (not J) by Well., Bud., Kuen. ; so (3) **כל בני** (10:21) = R (not J) by same ; (4) 10:16f,18b = Rd (not J) by same ; (5) 10:9 = J (not R) by Bud. and Kuen.(?) ; etc.

* *Die Genesis, mit Aeusserer Unterscheidung der Quellschriften.* 1888.

3) Cases in which evidence is by some thought to exist of the employment of earlier sources, which, however, have been so thoroughly worked over as to become hardly recognizable; e. g. (1) 1:2-2:4a (= P) is supposed by Well., Bud., Kuen. to contain such material, some even supposing that this earlier source is J², a view consistent only with the theory that J is older than P; (2) 5:22-24 (= P) is claimed by Budde to be from some such earlier source; etc.

Remarks. Touching these variations the following points deserve consideration:

1. In view of the remarkable degree of unanimity which exists, too much emphasis should not be laid upon the comparatively few cases in which there is a difference of opinion. Omitting the cases under 1) and 3) above in which, while recognizing a particular passage as, e. g. J, certain critics still more minutely analyze the material, or suppose the existence of earlier sources, no longer distinguishable, we find that out of a total of 304 verses, there are not more than twenty in reference to which critics differ.

2. The character of the differences shows that they are due largely to the writers' views of the relation of the various documents to each other. In this way, at all events, many of them may be accounted for.

3. The chief difficulty exists in reference to the work of the Redactor. This, in the nature of the case, must always remain more or less indefinite, although the documents themselves may be distinguished from each other with much satisfaction. It is to be observed, however, that, handy as it may seem to credit to the account of the Redactor whatever causes trouble by its presence elsewhere, it cannot well be denied that the work attributed to him is exactly what would have been expected under all the circumstances.

II. The Analysis of Gen. 1-3 (Creation, Paradise, the Sin and Curse).

The first three chapters contain two distinct accounts of creation,—(1) that of P, Gen. 1:1-2:4a (see above); (2) that of J, Gen. 2:4b-3:24. The evidence of this distinction is four-fold, viz. the language, the style, the material, and the theology. This evidence will be considered in order. In general, the points presented will be only those furnished by the particular chapter under consideration. Sometimes, however, it will be necessary to include material belonging to subsequent chapters, in order to show the harmony of that which is being considered with the later matter; and because the chapter in question may present matter which, although in harmony with what follows, when taken by itself is hardly sufficient in amount to exhibit clearly the point under consideration.

1. *The Language.*—Each of the two sections, as divided above, is seen to have certain words which are not found, or are rarely found, in the other. It is conceded that considerable difference may exist between two passages in respect to vocabulary, without furnishing an argument for different authorship, since such variations may often be accounted for on the ground of different subject, different circumstances, etc. Still, when they are so many and so marked, when they occur in what purports to be a treatment of the same subject, and when, moreover, the differences of vocabulary coincide in a most remarkable manner with differences of style, material, etc., it is believed that the explanations usually given upon the supposition of a single author are insufficient.

1) LANGUAGE OF P.

To save space, the general usage of each word is given when it is taken up for the first time.

(1) **בְּרֵאשִׁית** (1:1): probably in construct relation with following clause; if used absolutely, it is peculiar, J (also E*) using **בְּתַחֲלָה** (cf. Gen. 13:3; 43:18,20; Jud. 1:1).

(2) **בָּרָא** (1:1): occurs ten times in 1:1-2:4a; 5:1 (P); the only word used by P when creation proper is spoken of; found in Hex. outside of P only in Gen. 6:7 (J); Ex. 34:10; Dt. 4:32; Num. 16:30, in all of which there are evident traces of the work of R or Rd (but used largely in later prophets; e. g., twenty-one times in the second Isaiah); J uses **עָשָׂה** and **יָצַר**, words more general, or implying manipulation.

(3) **אֱלֹהִים** (1:1): thirty-six times in this passage; relatively as frequent in P up to Ex. 6:3, after which it is used only in certain formulas, e. g. **רוּחַ א'**, or as a common noun; before Ex. 6:3, P never uses **יְהוָה** (the ' in Gen. 17:1; 21:1b being due to R, as proved by Ex. 6:2-4, and accounted for by the use of ' in immediate proximity), but after Ex. 6:3, always. [Cf. use of **יְהוָה** by J (below).]

(4) **תָּהוּ**, **בְּהוּ** (1:2): only here in Pent., the latter elsewhere only in Is. 34:11; Jer. 4:23.

(5) **תְּהוֹם** (1:2): also in 7:11; 8:2; cf. the expr. in 49:25; Dt. 33:13.

(6) **וַיְבָרֵךְ** (1:4): occurs in P, 1:14,6,7,14,18; Ex. 26:33; Lev. 1:17; 5:8; 10:10; 11:47; 20:24,25,26; Num. 8:14; 16:9,21; elsewhere in Hex. only in Dt.; J uses **פָּרַר**.

(7) **רָקַע** (1:6): nine times in this ch.; elsewhere, in all seven times, in Ezek., Dan., Ps. 119 and 150; stem **רָקַע** only in P, Ex. 39:3; Num. 17:34.

(8) **מָקוֹה** (1:19): also Ex. 7:19; Lev. 11:36; elsewhere eight times, in Jer., Kgs., Chron. and Ezra.

(9) **רָשָׂא** (1:11): not in J or E; in all fourteen times, Dt. 32:2; 2 Sam., 2 Kgs., Job, Ps., etc.

(10) **מִיָּן** (1:11): in P, 1, nine times; 6:20, three times; 7:14, four times; Lev. 11, nine times; elsewhere only Dt. 14, which corresponds to Lev. 11.

(11) **נְאֻרֹת** (1:14,15,16): only in this passage in this sense; in Ex. 25:6; 27:20; 35:8,14,28; Lev. 24:2; Num. 4:9,16 (all P) with reference to golden candlestick.

(12) **וַיִּתֵּן** (1:17): this loose and general sense, instead of **שָׂם** or **שָׂת**, is claimed to be peculiar to P, as compared with J.

(13) **שָׂרַץ** (1:20 verb and noun): outside of P only once, viz., Dt. 14:19, which corresponds to Lev. 11; Gen. 1 three times; 7:21 twice; 8:17; 9:7; Ex. 1:7; 7:28; Lev. 5:2; 11, (fifteen times); 22:5; J and E use **רָכַב** or **רָכַבָּה**; cf. 6:1 and Ex. 1:7 with Ex. 1:10,20.

(14) **תְּנִינִם** (1:21): in P only; cf. Ex. 7:9,10,12 (P) with Ex. 4:3-5(J); and this passage with Gen. 3:1-3 (J) and Num. 21:6-9 (E) where **נָחָשׁ** is used.

(15) **הִרְמִשֶׁת** (1:21): in 6:7; 7:23 (J), but this is work of R (see above); elsewhere in Hex. (exc. Dt. 4:18), in P, viz., Gen. 1, seven times; 6:20; 7:8,21; 8:17(twice),19(twice); 9:3; Lev. 11:44,46; 20:25.

(16) **פָּרוּ וּרְכוּ וּמָלְאוּ** (1:22): a phrase only found in P in Hex., though often with modifications, e. g. 1:22,28; 8:17; 9:1,7; 17:6,20; 28:3; 35:11; 47:27; Ex. 1:7; cf. the somewhat different use of **פָּרַה** by J, Gen. 26:22.

(17) **חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ** (1:24): also 1:25,30; 9:2,10 (twice); only in P; cf. **חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ** in J, 2:19,20; 3:1:14; and in E, Ex. 23:11,29.

(18) **צֶלֶם** (1:26): 1:26,27 (three times); 5:3; 9:6; Num. 33:52; all P.

(19) **רָרָו** (1:26): elsewhere in P, 1:28; 25:43,46,53; Lev. 26:17; cf. Num. 24:19 incorporated by E; and Dt. 20:20.

(20) **רָמֹת** (1:26): in Hex. only here, and 5:1-3 (P); stem **רָמָה** only in P; Num. 33:56.

(21) **זָכָר** (1:27) *male*: exc. Dt. 4:16, and 15:19 only in P (fourteen times in Gen., four times in Ex., seventeen times in Lev., eighteen times in Num., twice in Josh.); J uses **אִישׁ** and perhaps twice Ex. 34:19,23 (J?) a form of the verb **זָכַר**; in Gen. 7:3a (cf. this part with the prece.

* E represents a second prophetic writer who had many of the characteristics of J, but of whom few, if any, traces appear in Gen. 1-12. This writer was later combined with J, hence the symbol JE, which will appear frequently.

verse, where we have twice וַאֲשֶׁתוֹ (אִשׁ), Ex. 13:11-16 (neither J nor E, but JE or Rd), the influence of R is evident; in Ex. 23:17 (E?) = Ex. 34:23 a form of זָכַר occurs.

(22) נָקְבָה (1:27): except Dt. 4:16, only in P, Gen. 5:2; 6:19; (7:3 = R); 7:9,16; Lev., twelve times; Num. 5:3; 31:15, all P.

(23) וְכָר וְנָקְבָה (1:27): a phrase not in JE, which has וַאֲשֶׁתוֹ אִשׁ.

(24) כָּבַשׁ (1:28): in Hex. in P only, Num. 32:22,29; Josh. 18:1; elsewhere very late.

(25) אָכַל (1:29): also 1:30; 6:21; 9:3; Ex. 16:15; Lev. 11:39; 25:6; cf. מָאֵכַל in J 2:9; 3:6, אָכַל frequently in Gen. 41-44.

(26) צָבָא (2:1) *host*: except Gen. 21:22,32 (J) (in title of Pichol) and Josh. 5:14,15 (E?) (title of angel), only in P, where it occurs eighty-nine times.

(27) שָׁבַת (2:2): in JE, six times, including the

doubtful passage, Ex. 23:12 = 34:21; in P, sixty-four times.

(28) מְלֹאכָה (2:3): except Gen. 33:14 ("herd"), Ex. 22:7,10 ("goods"), both of which are J or E; and Gen. 39:11 (thoroughly worked over by R); only in P, in all fifty-six times (generally = "work").

(29) קָדַשׁ (2:2): except in JE in Ex. 19:10,14, 22; 20:8; Josh. 3:5; and Num. 11:18 (J or Rd?), Josh. 7:13 (Rd), only in P, in all seventy-three times.

(30) תּוֹלַדֶּת (2:4a): formula of introduction of each of P's chapters of the patriarchal period (duplicated in case of Esau by R, 36:1 = 36:9); from creation to Abram five "generations;" from Abram to Jacob, five; Gen. 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10; 11:27; 25:19; 36:1 (= 36:9); 37:2; cf. Num. 3:1, which is a later edition (P³) of P.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.

(1) עָשָׂה (2:4b): for this P uses בָּרָא (see above).

(2) יְהוָה [אלהים] (2:4b): for this P uses אֱלֹהִים. The אֱלֹהִים which follows ' in this section was inserted by R, who by this very peculiar method and, except as a very emphatic appositive, un-Hebraic expression, shows a purpose to unite two entirely distinct accounts. The contrast is no less striking between 'א in ch. 1 and 'א' in chs. 2 and 3, than it would have been between 'א and '. The use of ' by J is very regular. Exceptions may easily be classified and explained, e. g., (1) when a foreigner speaks who is not supposed to have known the personal name of Israel's God, as in Gen. 39; (2) when there is a special reason for concealment of the name, as in the case of Joseph, Gen. 44; (3) when the use of ' would be inappropriate, as in the mouth of the serpent, Gen. 3:1; 9:27; a few other cases might be cited, but this will suffice here.

(3) שִׁיחַ הַשֵּׁרָה (2:5): שִׁיחַ in Hex., only here and in Gen. 21:15 (E); שֵׁרָה (or אֲרָמָה) when P would be apt to use אֲרָץ (see above), cf. חֵית הַשֵּׁרָה 2:19,20; 3:1,14; עֵשֶׂב הַשֵּׁרָה, 2:5; 3:18.

(4) טָרִם or כְּטָרִם (2:5): once in P (and that P³) Lev. 14:36; in JE frequent, 27:4,33; 37:18; 41:50; 45:28; Ex. 1:19; 12:34; Josh. 2:8; 3:1.

(5) צָמַח (2:5): cf. תּוֹצֵא 1:12 (P); once in P³,

Lev. 13:37; in JE, Gen. 2:9; 3:18; 41:6,23; Ex. 10:5.

(6) מָטָר (2:5): in JE, also 7:4; 19:24; Ex. 9:18,23,33,34; 16:4(?)

(7) הָאֲרָמָה (2:5): in P. only 1:25; 6:20; 9:2; Lev. 20:25 in expression הָאֲרָמָה הָרְמָס; Lev. 20:24; Num. 32:11 (in an expression borrowed from JE); in JE, fifty-two times.

(8) יָצַר (2:7): in J also, 2:8,19; cf. יָצַר (noun) 6:5; 8:21; P uses בָּרָא.

(9) נָפַח (2:7): only here in Hex., other occurrences in Jer., Ezek., Hag., Mal., and Job, also Isa. 54:16.

(10) אָף (2:7): in JE forty times, not in P.

(11) רוּחַ חַיִּים (2:7): P has רוּחַ חַיִּים cf. above 'רוּחַ א' in 7:22 (J) the רוּחַ is by R; in E Josh. 11:11,14.

(12) שׁוֹם (2:8): P uses in many similar cases נָתַן, cf. 1:17.

(13) הָאָדָם (2:8): J treats it as a common noun, the הָאָדָם in 3:17,21 being for הָאָדָם; P as in 5:1 treats it as a proper noun.

(14) נֶחֱמָד (2:9): the stem in JE, Gen. 3:6; 27:15; Ex. 20:17(twice); 34:24; Josh. 7:21(?); but not in P.

(15) עוֹר (2:18): eight times in JE, no occurrence in P.

(16) נָגַד (2:18): once in P (Num. 2:2), twenty times in JE.

- (17) חֵית הַשְּׂדֵה (2:19): see above under (3).
 (18) בָּנָה (2:22): spoken of God (see later).
 (19) סָנַר (2:21): used only in Hiph. by P (Lev. 13, 14); in JE, ten times; cf. סָכַר in 8:2 (P).
 (20) הַפֶּעַם (2:23) *now*: J uses it in sing. and dual twenty-one times. In P, only pl.
 (21) עַל-כֵּן (2:24): a common expression throughout J, e. g. 32:33.
 (22) נָחַשׁ (3:1): in J also, 3:2,4,14; 49:17; Ex. 4:3; (7:15 = R); Num. 21:6,7,9 (three times); P uses תַּנִּין (see above).
 (23) עָרוֹם (3:1): only here in Hex., elsewhere in Proverbs and Job.
 (24) פָּן (3:3): cf. also 3:22; 11:4; 42:4, etc.
 (25) פָּקַח (3:5): not in P, but in JE 3:5,7; 21:19; Ex. 4:11; 23:8.
 (26) שָׁכַל (3:6): not in P, but in Gen. 48:14 (J?) Josh. 1:7,8 (D or JE).
 (27) חָבֵא (3:8): not in P, but in JE, 3:10; 31:27; Josh. 2:16; 6:17,25; 10:16,17.
 (28) אִי or אִיהָ (3:9): not in P, but in JE. Gen. 4:9; 16:8; 18:9; 19:5; 22:7; 38:21; Ex. 2:20.
 (29) לְבַלְתִּי (3:11): common in J, not found in P.
 (30) מֶה זֹאת (3:13): cf. 4:10.
 (31) אָרוּר (3:14): in P, only in Pl. part. used substantively, in the formula מִי הַמְאָרְרִים in the law of the ordeal of jealousy, Num. 5:18,19, 22,24,27; in JE regularly, Gen. 3:14,17; 4:11; 5:29; 9:25; 12:3; 27:29 (twice); 49:7; Ex. 22:27; Num. 22:6 (three times); 23:7; 24:9 (twice); Jos. 6:26; 9:23.
 (32) שִׁית (3:15): not in P (exc. Ex. 7:23, doubtful); in JE eighteen times.
 (33) עָקַב (3:15): not in P; in J, Gen. 25:26; 49:17,19; Josh. 8:13.
 (34) עֲצָב, עֲצָבוֹן (3:16): stem not in P, in J, 3:17; 5:29; 6:6; 34:7; 45:5.
 (35) הָרָה (3:16): not in P, but frequently (twenty-eight times) in JE; cf. וְהָרָה וְתִלְדֵּם.
 (36) הָרָה אֲרָבָה (3:16): also 16:10; 22:17 (R from J).
 (37) לֶאֱרֹם (3:17): see above, under (13).
 (38) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל (3:17): not in P, but in JE also Gen. 16:2; Ex. 3:18; 4:8,9; 15:26; 18:24.
 (39) בִּעְבוֹר (3:17): not in P (who uses לְמַעַן); in JE twenty-one times.
 (40) עָתָה (3:22): in P, if at all, Num. 31:17; Josh. 9:19b (both doubtful); in JE ninety-seven times.
 (41) גֵּרַשׁ (3:24) in P only in Qāl (Lev. 21:7, 14; 22:13; Num. 30:10); in JE, seventeen times in Pl., once in Qāl.

Remarks.—1. Of the 396 forms in Gen. 1:1–2:4a, 135 occur chiefly in P, while over 100 are entirely unknown to J as here used; this calculation does not include formulas like וִירָא א' כִּי-טוֹב; וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב, etc.

2. Of the 499 forms in Gen. 2:4b–3:24, 119 are of words peculiar to J.

3. It is of course evident that not all the different words thus cited may be called characteristic. In many cases the words referred to occur but a few times. It is true, however, that after making allowance for this element, there still remains a certain amount of material which in a strict sense may be called *characteristic*. This is seen most clearly in those cases where each writer uses a different word to express practically the same thought; e. g., אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה; בָּרָא and יָהוּה; עָשָׂה and יָצַר; תַּנִּין and נָחַשׁ; חֵית הָאָרֶץ and חֵית הַשְּׂדֵה, etc.

4. The argument from language, while at one time supposed to be the most important, is now regarded by critics as of least value, compared with other arguments. In weighing the value of such evidence, there must always be considered the question whether the writer, who has not used a given word, ever had occasion to make use of it.

2. *The Style.*—The first chapter of Genesis is supposed by most critics not to be original with P, but to have been incorporated by him in his work from some

outside source.* If this is true, it should not be cited as a specimen of P's style. The sublimity and stateliness which characterize it are not to be found in so striking a degree in other portions of P's work. Still, whatever its source, the chapter has been thoroughly worked over and may fairly represent P, while ch. 2: 1-4a, which is eminently characteristic of P, plentifully supplies anything that may be lacking. Ch. 2:4b-3:25, on the other hand, is an excellent specimen of J. In what follows, the word "style" will be understood to include not only "form of expression," but "mode of conception."†

1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) Is characterized by a *systematic* (perhaps artificial) *arrangement of material*; this is seen in (a) the division into sections, of which this chapter, originally introduced by אלה תולדות, is the first of ten (all with the same introduction), five in one period (creation to Shem), and five in another (Terah to Jacob); (b) the structure of the cosmogony according to the days of the week, each marked by ויהי ערב וגו'; (c) the gradual leading up of the whole story to the institution of the Sabbath; (d) the progressive (really numerical) order of the material.

(2) Is *chronological, statistical, perhaps mechanical*; this is seen in (a) the ten-fold division into sections; (b) the seven-fold division of the cosmogony; (c) the order of creation, e. g., man depending upon and following the animal world, the animal world following the vegetable, the vegetable world following the appearance of "dry land," etc.; compare the lists of names and figures given in the genealogical tables of ch. 5, etc., and the enumeration of census, etc. (see later).

(3) Is *minute, precise, scientific*; this is seen in (a) the way in which the different species of the vegetables and animals are classified, cf. vs. 11, 12; 24, 25 (note the three classes); 29, 30; (b) the repetition of the full description every time the thing is mentioned (cf. the same verses, and also 2:2, 3); (c) the separation of each class from every other by the addition of למינה or למינו; (d) the enumeration of the horological functions of the heavenly bodies in v. 14b.

(4) Is *rigid, stereotyped, condensed*; this is seen in (a) such phrases as אלה תולדות; (b) ויהי ערב ויהי בקר; (c) וירא א'; (d) יהי.... ויהי; (e) ויקרא מלאכתו; (f) ויהי כן; (g) בין.... ובין; (h) ויברך אתם א'; (i) אשר עשה; (j) entire absence of the poetical, or even of the descriptive element, there being no metaphors or figures; (k) lack of the perspective in narrative (cf. especially what is to follow); (l) the ability to reduce so much material to so small space; (m) in the condensed framework which is found everywhere except in the case of a very few particular points (to be noted later) to which he gives special attention.

* There are some indications which point to the Assyrian account of creation as this source; but as yet little can be said with definiteness.

† References are not inserted except where absolutely necessary, because (1) space is limited, (2) the matter is familiar to all, (3) subsequent cases will be cited where they come up.

(5) *Is verbose and repetitious*; this is seen in (a) the stereotyped formulas already referred to; (b) the repetition of v. 11 by 12; of 14,15, by 17,18; of 20 by 21; of 22 by 28; of 24 by 25; of 26 by 28; (c) the fullness of vs. 28-30; (d) still greater fullness of 2:1-3 (if the unnecessary words were omitted, how much would remain?); (e) the particularity of details with which the different species of the vegetable and animal world are classified, vs. 11,12,24,25,29,30; (f) the use of *למינהו* in each specification, etc. This characteristic is so marked indeed as to render the material (especially in later passages, e. g. Num. 7:1-89, which is filled out by the repetition twelve times over of the same formula of seven verses), really wearisome.

(6) *Is generic*, dealing with the class rather than the individual; this is seen in (a) the creation of the race male and female; (b) the creation of the world, the heaven and earth, every tree, every herb "after its kind," etc., etc.; (c) the formal institution of law which is the climax of every representation (see below on the other hand the peculiarly "individual" style of J's representation).

Remark.—The examination of the material shows that this *verbose and repetitious* character is not inconsistent, as at first thought might be supposed, with its *stereotyped and condensed* character. The two features work well together, the first characterizing the form of expression, the second, the mode of conception.

2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is free and flowing*, even from the beginning, (2:4b); the writer has no order marked by characteristic phrases, but passes gradually and almost imperceptibly from the description of one event to that of another. There is no classification. Man, the important figure, is taken up first, everything else grouped around him.

(2) *Is characterized by an abundance of stories and traditions*; since it is to this writer we are indebted for the great number of those pleasing narratives which have made the patriarchal history so attractive; compare the stories of the serpent and the fall, the ejection from Eden, the cherubim and flaming sword, and later, of Cain and Abel, etc., etc., while no figures or dates are found, except those of a most general character.

(3) *Is picturesque, poetical*; the opening words depicting a scene for the imagination. Instead of a carefully tabulated enumeration of the different orders of created beings in regular graduation, the simpler first, the more complex afterward, there is given a *picture*, the central figure of which is *the first man*, the background being formed by a few hasty but masterly touches. Not "in the beginning," but before there was any plant of the field, or any herb, or any rain, or any man, was the time when Yahweh made earth and heaven. The scene was an arid waste, dry earth, because Yahweh had not yet caused rain to fall; there was no vegetation, because as yet there was no man to till the ground. But a mist arises

and moistens the ground; clay is taken and moulded into the form of a man; breath is blown into his nostrils; a garden is planted, trees made to grow in it, rivers made to flow in it, while the man tends and tills it. The remainder of the scene is familiar and need not be presented. The whole is poetical in the strictest sense.

(4) *Is highly anthropomorphic*, abounding in the most familiar representations of God as "walking," "breathing," "taking a rib," "planting," "bringing animals to man," etc., (see under "material" below).

(5) *Is prophetic, that is, predictive and didactic*; as seen in (a) the protevangelium, 3:15,16, the basis of all predictions; compare the fact that the predictions of the Hexateuch, as will appear, belong largely to this author; (b) the peculiar adaptability of all his material for purposes of religious instruction; (c) the strikingly prophetic spirit shown not only in the selection of his material, but as well in the presentation of it.

(6) *Is individual rather than generic*, as seen in (a) the creation of a certain particular first man and first woman; (b) the creation of a certain particular garden, certain river, etc.; (c) the simple and definite outcome of his representations, not in some formal institution of law, but in "therefore a man leaves his father and mother," etc. (2:24), or "therefore the name of that place was called" many times, or "therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew that shrank," etc. (32:33).

3. *The Material.*—The characteristics of style cited above are in some particulars applicable also to "material." Here arises again the question of the origin of P's "creation-story." But this may be set aside and the material considered just as it now stands. Space may be saved by taking the two accounts together:

1. P's account proceeds from the *lower to the higher*, the vegetable world—the moving world of meteoric creatures—the population of sea and air—the population of land—man. J starts with the highest; for, as he distinctly states (2:5-7), when the first man was created there was no plant or shrub in existence. *After* man (cf. 2:7,8) came vegetation, which man was to maintain; then came the animals.

2. In P, vegetation appears only when the superabundance of water has been removed (1:10,11); in J, there can be no vegetation until the dry ground has received moisture (2:5,6) (and man has been created).

3. In P, man and woman are created together (1:27), and so definite is the statement as to lead some to suppose the idea of the writer to have been that man was created an hermaphrodite. In J, man is created (2:7); then vegetation comes (2:9), then animals (2:19), and only when the animals have been brought to man and named (2:20) is woman formed from a rib taken from the side of the man (2:21,22).

4. In P, ch. 1:28 man is given at the very outset the earth to subdue and hold in subjection. In J, chs. 2, 3 he reaches this position through sin and punishment, is degraded to it after having occupied a higher place. Cf. 1:29, where the herb of the ground and the fruit of the tree are given him for food, with 3:13, where he is degraded from the position in which the fruit of trees is his food (here no labor was involved, cf. the legends of the Golden Age) to one in which he is obliged to labor, for "in the sweat of thy nostrils thou shalt eat the herb of the field." In 1:29 this was a part of his blessing; in 3:13 it is a part of his curse.

5. In P, the material is generic (see under style); in J, it is individual.

6. In P, man is created in God's image to rule over all the earth (1:27,28), that is, to have knowledge (for sovereignty and knowledge are the same); in J, it is sin for man to seek to be as God (3:22), to know the world.

7. In P mankind is already installed over his dominion, a populous race, with no premonition that it is necessary first to go back again to the time when there was no vegetation, and when Yahweh must take up a process of creation by personal manipulation, and man must pass through a complex tragedy to come out finally at a place very similar to that in which ch. 1:31 left him; in J, there is no reference whatever to the details of the chapter just preceding, nor to the institution of the Sabbath; the moulding of animals from the ground is narrated without a hint of the creation already related. There is no indication in either account that they stand related.

8. In P, the universe is conceived of as a diving-bell in water—**תהום** (1:2); the vaulted roof is the **רקיע השמים** (1:6), with the **יבשה** (1:10) as the floor (cf. how the flood is produced in P, by water let in from top and bottom at once (7:11; 8:2a), the sluice-gates (**מעינות**) in the floor (**תהום**) broken up, and the openings (**ארכות**) of the heavens opened); in J, the earth is an indefinite extent of dry plain upon which water must be poured by Yahweh (cf. J's account of the flood, brought about simply by pouring rain down upon this plain (7:4,12; 8:2b)).

9. In P, the record is full of accurate measurements, systematic chronologies (referring now to material, not to style), but all trace of color is excluded; while of J the most essential element is story.

Remarks.—1. Some say that the differences here indicated are obtained by a forced exegesis in accordance with a theory. It is claimed, however, that the forced exegesis is found rather in the commentaries which, upon the supposition that these accounts were written by one author, have been compelled to reconcile them literally to each other? Do not the above statements rest, in every case, upon the natural meaning of the passage in its connection? Which is the correct order? (1) to decide that the two accounts must have been the work of one writer, and to interpret the language in such a way as to accord with this decision? or (2) to interpret the language just as it stands, and from this interpretation to decide whether one man could have written both?

2. Differences may be *contradictions*, but are not necessarily such. The acceptance of the existence of these differences does not mean that the two accounts are absolutely contradictory, that, consequently, neither is of any value, and that the Redactor who placed them side by side was a fool. They represent *different* conceptions; and if they had not been very different, if they had been practically the same, the Redactor would never have given us both.*

3. It is not to be supposed that, in every case, the entire material of the original documents has been transmitted to us. When two documents covered the same ground in practically the same way, one was taken, the other omitted. When one document presented the material in different way from the other, either (1) that account was selected which seemed to the Redactor best to convey the truth as he understood it, or (2) as when the accounts were very different, both were given; of this latter method of procedure, viz. giving the narrative of the same event as it appeared in two or even three distinct documents, there are supposed to be at least twelve or fifteen cases in the Book of Genesis.

4. *The. theology.* It will be possible only to indicate in a word the characteristic features; the development here of each idea is manifestly impracticable.†

1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) The spirit is strictly *monotheistic*; the language of 1:26 in no way opposes this. Nothing could be more marked than the care which the writer takes to avoid any expression which might seem even to suggest a polytheistic idea. The absolute supremacy of the Creator is manifest.

(2) *Creation* is described by **ברא**, alternating with **עשה**; but there is obvious avoidance of the anthropomorphic terms of J (**לךח**, **יצר**, **נפח**, etc.). The simple command is **יהי**, and the fulfillment, **ויהי-כן**. The divine activity is limited to command and approval.

(3) So far as concerns *the relations of God and man*, the former is so much exalted above the latter whom he has made in his own image and blessed and appointed to dominion over all the earth, that any thought of divine jealousy, so common throughout antiquity, is entirely foreign. Man is given a divine capacity, and having received this, is assigned a divine destiny, viz. to subdue the world and to rule over it (Gen. 1:26).

(4) As to attributes of God, *power and benevolence* are emphasized; a power which has but to speak and creation springs into existence, a benevolence which appears in the blessing pronounced upon man, and in the satisfaction with which the work, when finished, is regarded. (Cf. the frequently recurring "and it was good.")

* See a very valuable presentation of the point in *HEBRAICA*, Vol. I., No. I., by Prof. Hermann L. Strack, "The Higher Criticism, a witness to the Credibility of the Biblical Narrative."

† Cf. Ewald, *Old and New Testament Theology*. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1888, pp. 113-139.

(5) A marked feature, already noted, is the *progressive revelation* which P presents. Here we may anticipate. The creation account is intended to reach its climax in (a) the *institution of the Sabbath*; a genealogy of ten generations follows, and then comes (b) the *institution of the Noachic covenant, the law of bloodshed* (9:1-7); another genealogy of ten generations and then (c) the *institution of the circumcision* (17); still later (d) the *Mosaic ceremonial institutions* (Ex. 25, Num. 10, and Num. 26-36); and finally (e) the fulfillment of the divine obligation in the covenant in the *apportionment of the promised land* (Josh. 14-22). This is the ground-work; the history given serves only to set forth and connect.

2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The spirit may be *monotheistic*, but the monotheism is not so rigidly exhibited as in P. There is only one supreme being, but in the representation there are other beings whose rights are threatened by the presumption of "the man" (3:22; cf. 11:6,7). The cases here cited are quite different from that in 1:26,27 (cf. above).

(2) *Creation* is represented, however this representation may be interpreted, as the work of some one endowed with supernatural powers, but hardly as the work of an "infinite" being. In each act, the means employed is indicated, viz., clay (2:7), or a rib (2:21), or skins (3:21). This is seen everywhere in J; cf. the plagues of Egypt, which are universally brought about by natural means, Yahweh causing a strong east wind to blow, in order to bring the locusts (Ex. 10:19), or to drive back the sea (Ex. 14:21). P nowhere attributes to God the use of such means; but rather "he commanded and it stood fast." It is impossible to suppose that the author who in ch. 1 represents God as saying so majestically יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, etc., should in ch. 2 represent this same God as laboriously gathering his materials, preparing them (e. g., "moistening the clay") and shaping them by personal manipulation. Shall we understand that the writer first prepared the account given in ch. 1 (cf. especially 1:27 which has so justly been praised for its noble simplicity and disdain of means), and then added, as his own explanation of this sublime account of the origin of the race, the details contained in 2:7,21,22? Granting that ch. 1 may be "reconciled" with modern science, will anyone attempt, has anyone attempted to reconcile ch. 2? And yet, why not, if the latter presents the same ideas as the former?

(3) In contrast with P, man is on *free and even confidential terms with God*, as is seen throughout the narrative. Nor is this to be explained upon the ground of his innocence, for, later, it is everywhere the same in J. Cain in ch. 4 "talks back" in a manner still more free and independent, while Abraham in ch. 18 is respectful but at the same time familiar. In J the man is always nearer the level of his "Maker" than in P.

(4) So far as concerns the *attributes* of God the representation, however interpreted, is not so clear and distinct (see above). When man has eaten the fruit

and thus gained one superhuman attribute, viz., *wisdom* (3:7), there is danger that he will gain another such attribute, viz., *immortality* (3:22); and that this may not happen he is driven forth from Eden (3:23). Add to this (a) the fear of Cain that he is to be sent where Jehovah cannot protect him (4:14), (b) the fear of Jehovah and those with him that man, if let alone, will become so strong as that "nothing will be withholden from them" (11:6); (c) the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel (32:22-32) and of the touching of his thigh because he was likely to prevail,—and the inference is that the attributes of Yahweh are not as definite or as strongly felt as were those of Elohim (in ch. 1).

(5) While P understands the name יהוה to have been revealed only in Moses' time (Ex. 6:3), and the conception of God which this name conveys to have arisen then for the first, J treats it, together with the rite of sacrifice, as primeval. Besides עשה, לקח, and יצר as instances of his anthropomorphism, there may be cited וישמעו את קול י' מטהלך בנן, and it is an open question whether לרוח היום does not mean "for the breeze of the day," implying that the walk was taken preferably in the evening for climatic reasons. Here, too, belongs 2:21, in which the "deep sleep" is brought about not as a kind of anæsthetic for the surgical operation, but (cf. Gen. 19:17, "look not behind"; 32:27, the dread of daybreak; and the prevailing opinion that the sight of Yahweh would be followed by death) on the ground that the heavenly ones desired to be unobserved in their working. According to the natural interpretation, ch. 2:18-23 places Yahweh in the attitude of making various attempts to meet the wants of man. Just as in 11:5; 18:20-22, he is represented as resorting to personal inspection to ascertain something of which he is ignorant, so here he resorts to an experiment.

Remarks.—1. Reference has been made to the *interpretation* of ch. 2:4b-3, and similar passages. Whether these accounts be denominated "myth," "legend," "allegory," "idealized history," or "symbolical representation of real fact," it is nevertheless true that such conceptions are never found in P.

2. The question of the relative age of documents which present such different, though not necessarily contradictory, conceptions of God, does not properly come up at this time; it may, however, be referred to. While the majority of critics seem to be settling down to the idea that J's conception is that which stands nearer to polytheism, P's being the result of thought and spiritual development, the treatment of Ewald (cited above) is a strong presentation of the other view that P in its simplicity is the older, J being the later.

3. The Redactor found no difficulty in combining these two conceptions, for to him, as to all the world, both were true. J's ideas of God, which, regarded from one point of view, seem slightly removed from paganism, must be estimated quite differently, if studied in the light of the gradual revelation of himself which God, in his wisdom, saw fit to make.

III. The Analysis of Genesis 4 and 5 (Cain and Abel, Lamech's Song, Adam's Descendants).

The fourth chapter (J) contains an account of Adam's descendants through Cain, a genealogical table of seven generations branching into three, with the stories of Cain and Abel and the song of Lamech; to this is to be added 5:29. The fifth chapter (P) except v. 29 contains an account of Adam's descendants through Seth, a genealogical table of ten generations branching into three.

1. *The Language*.—Only new words will be noticed except when something of special interest occurs.

1) THE LANGUAGE OF J.

(1) הָאָדָם (4:1): cf. above under "*Language of J*" (13); J employs sparingly proper names, e.g. not "Deborah" (Ein 35:8), but "Rebekah's nurse" (24:59); not "Eliezer" (Ein 15:2), but "Abram's servant" (24:2); not "Potiphar" (Ein 37:36), but "an Egyptian," 39:2 (39:1, so far as it is identical with 37:36, is E, not J) and so, not "Adam" (see, however, 4:25, probably due to J²) (P) but "the man"; cf. 5:2,3,4,5 (P); note also that אִתְּ-חוּהָ is inserted by R, cf. 3:20; 4:17,25.

(2) יָדַע (4:1): a euphemism for sexual intercourse; also 4:17,25; 19:5,8; 24:16; 38:26. In P, only in the somewhat different case, Num. 31:17,18,35.

(3) יָסַף (4:2): also 4:12; 8:10,12,21; Ex. 1:10; 10:29, and frequently in J; though, in this sense, rarely in P.

(4) רָעָה (4:2): twenty-seven times in JE, perhaps once (Num. 14:33) in P.

(5) עָבַר הָאֲדָמָה (4:2): cf. 2:5,15; 4:12; 5:29. Such phrases, e.g. "to plant or sow," "digging wells," "watering flocks," "keeping sheep," while frequent in J, are not found in P.

(6) כִּנְחָה (4:3): also (in JE) 4:4,5; 32:14,19,21,22; 33:10; 43:11,15,25,26; not in P until the institution of the ceremonial law (Ex. 29:41).

(7) שָׁעָה (4:4,5): also Ex. 5:9; not elsewhere in Hex.

(8) חָרָה (4:5,6): in JE, thirty-three times in verbal and substantive forms; in P, not found unless in the doubtful passage Num. 32:10,13,14.

(9) רָבִץ (4:7): in JE, Gen. 29:2; 49:9,14,25; Ex. 23:5; Num. 22:27; not in P.

(10) צָעַק (4:10): in JE, twenty-five times, all forms; not in P, who uses יָעַק and שָׁעָה; cf. Ex. 2:23b (P) with Ex. 3:7,9 (J).

(11) פָּצָה (4:11): cf. Num. 16:30 (J or E) not in P.

(12) כָּח (4:12): in JE, eleven times; not in P except Lev. 26:20.

(13) וְיֹלֵד (4:18) *and was born*: J constantly uses יָלַד (Qāl) of the male, as the form to express "beget," while Puses הוֹלִיד (Hiph.); cf. this chap., also 10:8,13, etc.; 22:20,23; with P in ch. 5 (throughout).

(14) אָהֵל (4:20): cf. 9:27; 12:8; 13:3,5; 18:1,2,6,9,10; 24:67; 25:27; 26:25; 31:25,33,34; 33:19; 35:21 (J or R); but not in P before Ex. 16.

(15) כָּנֹר (4:21): also Gen. 31:27; not in P.

(16) הוּא אָבִי (4:20): frequent in J's genealogies; cf. 4:21; 9:18,22; 10:21; 11:29; 19:37,38, etc.

(17) שָׁם אַחִי (4:21): in J's genealogies (cf. 10:25); not in P.

(18) הָאָזִין (4:23) *give ear*: also Num. 23:18; not in P.

(19) פָּצַע (4:23): also Ex. 21:25; not in P.

(20) יָלַד (4:23): in JE, thirty-one times.

(21) חֲבוּרָה (4:23): also Ex. 21:25; not in P.

(22) חָלַל (4:26) in sense of *to be inventor of*, *to be first to*: cf. 9:20; 10:8.

(23) נָחַם (5:29) *comfort*: in JE, thirteen times, cf. especially Gen. 24:67 (J); 38:12 (J); 37:35 (twice) (E); not in P.

(24) Note also the words in this chapter which had been mentioned before: תָּהָר (4:1); יְהוּה (regularly, cf. also 5:29); הָאֲדָמָה 4:3; 5:29; תִּשְׁוָקָה (4:7); אֵי (4:9); עֵתָה (4:11); אָרָר (4:11; 5:29); גָּרַשׁ (4:14); הָן (4:14); לְבִלְתִּי (4:15); שוּת (4:25); עֲצָבוֹן (5:29).

2) THE LANGUAGE OF P.

Note (a) in 5:1, תולדות, ארם, ברא, אלהים, ארם; (c) in 5:3, ארם, הוליד (not ילד), דמות, דמות; (b) in 5:2, זכר, נקבה, ברא, ויברך, צלם; (d) in 5:22,24, also התהלך את- cf. 6:9.

Remarks.—1. In ch. 4 and 5:29, excluding proper names, there are 248 forms; of these (including words of all kinds, even the verb הִיךָ in all its forms, etc.) over sixty are either absolutely confined to JE or are very markedly characteristic of the “prophetic” portions. In this estimate portions of formulas and characteristics of style have not been reckoned.

2. In ch. 5 (omitting v. 29), excluding numerals (which might justly be counted as characteristic of P) and proper names, there are 181 words. Throwing out words forming part of formulas which are absolutely characteristic of P (for to include them would include the whole chapter except a few words in vs. 22, 24,32), there remain nearly fifty which are distinctly peculiar to P.

2. *The Style.*—It is necessary to call attention only to the more striking points.

1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as seen in (a) the introductory formula (the second of ten) אלה תולדות; (b) the structure of the table, the end of each life being marked by וימת (note exception in v. 24); (c) the ten-linked genealogy branching from Noah, aged 500 years, the tenth link, into three (cf. ch. 11, which contains another ten-linked genealogy branching with Terah, aged 70 years, the tenth from Noah, into three again).

(2) *Is chronological, statistical*, as is seen from a mere glance at the contents of the chapter.

(3) *Is minute, precise, scientific*, as is seen in the extreme and absolute accuracy aimed at throughout the chapter, a minuteness in striking contrast with the fabulous and grotesque traditions and mythology of other nations.

(4) *Is rigid, stereotyped, condensed*, as is seen in (a) the exclusion of every digression; (b) the reduction of the material to the dryest, barest framework possible, viz., a column of names and dates; (c) the absence of every semblance of life and color; (d) the fondness for set phrases; (e) the absence of historical perspective; (f) the use of this chapter as a thread of chronicle to connect ch. 1 with chs. 6-9, these chapters being, in the writer's opinion, the important ones; (g) the summary way in which Enoch's case, probably a long story, is expressed by the slight variation of “lived” to “walked with God” (5:24), and of “died” to “and he was not, for God took him” (5:24).

(5) *Is verbose, repetitious*, as seen in the monotonous “and he lived ——— years,” “and he begat ———,” “and he lived after he begat ———, ——— years,” “and he begat sons and daughters,” “and all the days of ——— were,” “and he died.”

(6) *Is generic*, as seen in the use of אדם mankind in 5:1,2, although by the very necessity of the genealogical method adopted, the word comes in v. 3 to be used in the individual sense of "Adam."

2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is free and flowing*, a feature which is better appreciated when we discover (see below under "material") that J is using in this chapter the same material employed by P in the chapter following.

(2) *Is characterized by the presence of stories and traditions*. Compare (a) the narrative of Cain and Abel (4:3-8); (b) the connecting of the various "arts" with Cain's descendants (4:20-22); (c) the introduction of Lamech's song (4:23,24); (d) the digressions from the genealogical list.

(3) *Is vivid, picturesque, poetical*; as seen in (a) the absence of all sameness; (b) the several scenes pictured; (c) the care with which the fact that a genealogical table is being given is covered up, appearing in but a single verse; (d) the insertion of a poetical fragment (cf. later cases); (e) the conversational element introduced throughout, as in vs. 6,10,13,15; cf. 3:9,10,11.

(4) *Is anthropomorphic* in the extreme, as seen in the intercourse between Yahweh and Cain, the details of which need not be given.

(5) *Is prophetic* in the proper sense of that word, viz., as furnishing religious instruction; note the teaching sought to be conveyed by the story of Cain and Abel, the account of the punishment of Cain, the description of the development of evil influences; but compare the lack of this element in ch. 5.

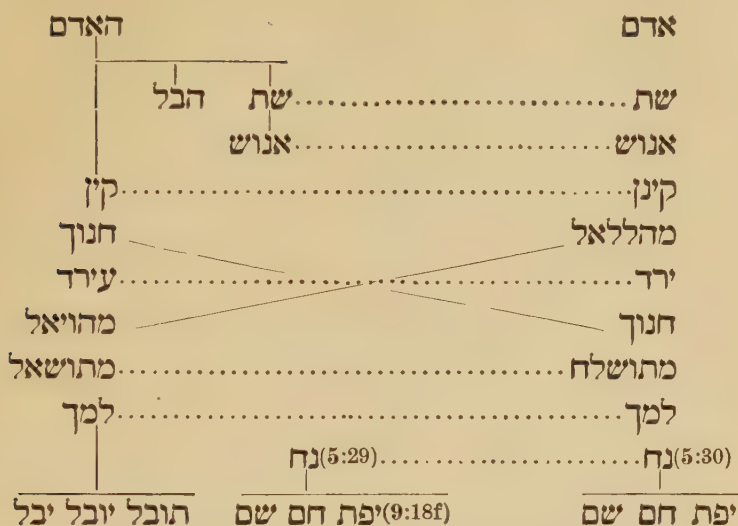
(6) *Is individual or localizing*, as seen in (a) 4:14, where Cain is driven out of the favored region ארמה into the unknown ארץ; (b) 4:16, where Cain takes up his residence in a spot definitely related to Eden, cf. 2:8; 11:3.

(7) *Exhibits certain peculiar marks*, e. g. (a) the phrase גם הוא (4:26); (b) the expression "knew his wife, and she conceived and bare" (4:1,17,25); (c) the clause והוא היה or ויהי and the name of some occupation, which follows a name of a person to introduce anything which it is desired to relate concerning that person (4:2b,17,20,21; cf. 4:26b with 9:20, ויחל נח איש האדמה, and 6:4, המה הגברים, with 10:9, הוא היה גבר), these phrases bearing witness to the author's purpose of tracing the effects of eating of the tree of knowledge.

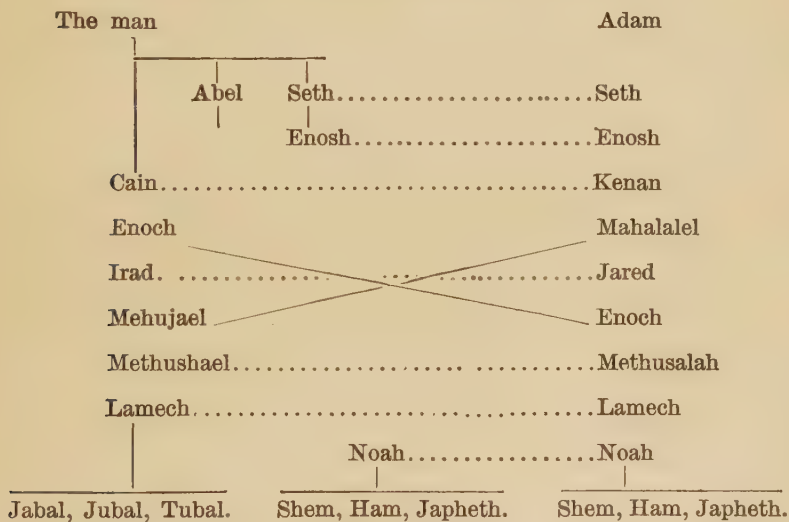
3. *The Material*. As remarked above, the material of both chapters is the same, with exactly the modifications which would be expected of two writers with the style and purpose which have been found to characterize P and J. Compare the two genealogies, placed side by side.

J (ch. 5).

P (ch. 4).



With the names as given in the revised version the table is as follows:



In reference to the material which thus forms the frame-work of both chapters and the form in which this material is given, the following points may be noted :

1) Whatever was the original source of 4:17-24 (cf. different views of critics), by its incorporation with J, this document, as the text now stands, comes to have a complete genealogy and also a fragmentary one, the former covering the development of the "evil" (?) line of Cain, and the latter, that of the "good" (?) line of Seth. We are to suppose that the links between Enosh (in this second genealogy) and Noah were lost, 5:29 and 6:5-7 showing that there was once a more complete account of sin and of corruption.

2) The work of R in these chapters was (a) the bringing of these two lines into contrast; (b) the probable insertion of 3:20;* (c) the insertion also of עור (4:25) and of אחר... קין

3) J's genealogy is in the first place a seven-membered one, ending in a triple division; but in addition to this he gives three (not including Abel, who died without issue) collateral names, viz., Seth, Enosh (4:25,26) and Noah (5:29), and a second triple division.

4) P's genealogy, on the other hand, is ten-membered (another instance of his fondness for the decimal system); but examination shows the extra three members to be these same three collateral names of J's second line; while of the two triple branches, he naturally chooses the second.

5) A comparison of the two lines shows that, as for the rest, they are identical, except that (a) there is a transposition of the names Mehujael and Enoch and (b) a slight alteration has taken place of קין to קינן, of מהויאל to מהללאל, of מתושאל to מתושלה, of עירר to ירר, or of קינן to קין, etc. It cannot be called a mere coincidence that the names are so nearly alike.†

6) While the two genealogies are practically the same, the differences are so great as to preclude the possibility of a single author having produced both; for granting that a writer might repeat a genealogy of ten generations in a tabular form, it is certain that he would not have altered the names and changed the order. On the other hand since the alterations are marked enough to take away the *glaring* character of the reduplication, the Redactor, whose work all through has been done in accordance with the custom of his times, that is, without the exhibition of a scientific purpose, would not hesitate to do here what he has done repeatedly later, viz., add the one to the other and preserve both. Here may be compared the large number of so-called duplicates in the book of Genesis, (see later).

7) Note in more detail the form and material of 5:29: (a) the sudden break in the rigid method of ch. 5; (b) the use of יהוה which proves that it cannot be from the author of Ex. 6:2,3; (c) נחם, in JE thirteen times, never in P; (d)

* See Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 79.

† Cf. the view that these changes are due to a desire on the part of the writer to give to the descendants of Cain names with a bad meaning, and to the descendants of Seth, names with a good meaning; Lenormant's *Beginnings of History*, pp. 185,186.

עֲצָבוֹן, in JE five times (including עֲצָב), never in P; (e) אָרַר (see above); (f) אֲרָמָה for which P commonly employs אָרָץ; (g) the reference in "the ground which Y. hath cursed," not to anything in ch. 1 or 5, but clearly to 3:17; (h) of "our work and toil of, etc.," to the same; (i) the reference of "comfort us... from the ground," etc., to Noah's future work, viz., not the flood, but 9:20,21,22, the discovery of the vine "which maketh glad the heart of man"; (j) the pun on the name of Noah (cf. below); (k) the prediction made,—all in the highest sense characteristic of J.

8) Note, on the other hand, in more detail the form and material of 5:1-3: (a) the close connection with 2:3, without a hint as to the contents of chs. 3,4; (b) the "blessing" (1:28) alluded to without any thought of its having been annulled by a curse (ch. 3); (c) the transmission of the "likeness of God" to his offspring as a matter of course; (d) the exclusion of all reference to Cain and Abel as Adam's sons before Seth, by the fact that (since everywhere the years enumerated before the patriarch "begat" are the years previous to the birth of his first son, the time after that in which the patriarch lives and "begets sons and daughters" is the time after the birth of his first born,) the genealogy deals only with descent through the first born (as do all of P's genealogies), Seth being consequently considered as Adam's first born; and if this is not the case, the 130 years have no meaning, the formula throughout the chapter is invalidated, the statement that Seth was born in the image and likeness of his father is meaningless (for would the writer say that Cain and Abel were born in some other image?); (e) the words and phrases זָכַר, דְּמוּת, אֱלֹהִים, בָּרָא, אָדָם, תּוֹלְדוֹת, נִקְבָּה, וַיִּכְרֹךְ אֹתָם; (f) the statistical, chronological, rigid style,—all in the highest sense characteristic of P.

9. Once more, in reference to the material of ch. 4, note (a) the references to domestic life, and to secular employments (vs. 2,12,16,20,22); (b) the etymologies furnished (cf. 2:23), of Cain (4:1); Nod (4:12); Seth (4:25); Noah (5:29); cf. later those of Japheth (9:27); Babel (11:1-9); Beer-lahai-roi (16:14); Ishmael (16:11); Zoar (19:22); Moab and Ammon (19:37,38) nearly fifty in Genesis alone; (c) the apparent contradiction between 4:26 (J) and Ex. 6:3 (P).

10. The fact that the genealogy gives us the origin of the arts and of the tribes as they existed in the time of the writer, viz. Cain and the nomads (cf. Num. 24:22; Judg. 4:15); Jabal, the ancestor of all who *dwell* (present) in tents; Jubal, of all present minstrels; Tubal, of all metal forgers of the present,—all this implies that there had been no interruption of the progress of the arts by a flood (which both P and J describe); cf. with this the parallel case of the origin given of the Nephilim in ch. 6 and their existence still in Num. 13 at Hebron. As will be seen later, there is evidence in this of the employment in J of material from a document which did not know of a deluge.

4. *The Theology.*—There is space only for a bare mention of the more important points.

1) THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) In general, the same lofty and majestic ideas of God are furnished as those seen in ch. 1.

(2) Man is regarded as having been created in God's image; but there is no thought of his coming into rivalry or even into intimate relations with Deity.

(3) Moral degeneration is either denoted by the numerical method (age of a 1000 years being regarded as the maximum; and every life judged by that standard; or the nature of the death is a better indication, e. g., translation, of supreme goodness; perishing in flood, of wickedness) or is taken for granted until 6:11,12.

(4) True piety is conceived of as a "walking with God" (5:22,24; 6:9), a phrase which in J would be meaningless, who allows everybody to walk and talk with God; the reward of goodness is escape from death, translation (5:24).

2) THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representations of Yahweh in this chapter, e. g., as assisting in childbirth (4:1), as indicating by his look and action (therefore present in person) his pleasure and displeasure (4:4), as in heated conversation with Cain (4:6 sqq.), as one absence from whom meant loss of protection (4:14), as giving a sign that, if killed, he shall be avenged seven-fold (4:15), as one from whose presence a man may go out (4:16), are in accordance with a conception of God which, however commentators may explain these representations, P could not and never did entertain.

(2) J assumes the name and conception of Yahweh to have existed from the beginning; just so the forms of sacrifice are taken for granted. Cain and Abel do nothing strange in bringing, without any instruction, a מנחה to Yahweh. Nowhere does J prescribe sacrifice. Certain directions are given about the altar, and certain abuses are prohibited, but sacrifice is left to the discretion of the worshiper. Abram, Isaac and Jacob offer sacrifices and are blessed. In P, no patriarch ever sacrifices or builds an altar, any more than he uses the name of Yahweh. All this was yet to be revealed. It is only when the ritual is instituted at Sinai, Aaron and his sons are ordained, the altar built, and fire has descended from heaven, that men *may* sacrifice.

(3) J seems to think that Cain should have had more knowledge than he exhibits. He should have known that Yahweh prefers a bloody offering; that he favors those who dwell in tents and have cattle, and looks with suspicion on the "man of the field" (cf. (a) Jacob, "a perfect man dwelling in tents;" but Esau, "a man of the field" (25:27); (b) the Rechabite (Jer. 35:6-10), who is the ideal pious man, owning neither house nor field, neither sowing nor reaping, but clinging to the old pastoral life; agriculture and city-building being part of that ill-fated progress the beginning of which was a taste of the tree of knowledge).

(4) J is interested in ethics, and so he presents with no uncertain significance the *guilt* of the murderer, against whose act even earth cries out, who is doomed to be deprived of the laws of protection, and who must, therefore, go out from the ארמה and wander a prey to any man like himself who may strike him down (cf. also the institution of the blood-revenge).

(5) J represents (4:26) public worship, feasts, sacrifices, etc., as now becoming general; while P (see above) places all this much later.

IV. The Analysis of Genesis 6:1-9:29 (the Deluge, etc.).

This section contains two entirely distinct accounts of the deluge, along with narratives of certain events immediately preceding and following the deluge. The material is analyzed as follows:

(1) To P is assigned 6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,23b,24; 8:1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,28,29.

(2) To J is assigned 6:1-8; 7:1,2,3 (in part), 4,5,7 (in part), 8,9 (in part),10,12,16b,17 (in part), 22 (in part), 23 (in part); 8:2b,3a,6-12,13b,20-22; 9:18,19 (or R), 20-27 (see below).

(3) Of the material here assigned to J, the following is rather to be regarded as the work of still a third writer, incorporated by J, or joined to J by an editor: 6:1-4; 9:20-27.

(4) To the Redactor who combined the accounts of P and J, the following is assigned: (1) in 6:4 וגם אחרי-כן; (2) in 6:7, בראתי and מאדם... השמים; (3) in 7:3, זכר ונקבה, perhaps the whole of 3a; (4) in 7:9, אלהים and זכר ונקבה; (5) in 7:23, הארץ... מאדם; (6) 9:18,19(?).

(5) It is to be noted that (1) 7:23b (P) is made J by Bud., Kuen., and Del., Kautzsch and Socin; (2) 7:7-9 (J) is largely the work of R; (3) 7:17a (J) is made P by Bud. and Kuen.(?); (4) 7:6 (P) is made R by Well.; (5) 9:18,19 (J) is made R by Kautzsch and Socin; while 9:18b is made Rd by Well., Bud., Kuen., 18a and 19 remaining J.

In order that the analysis may be more easily appreciated, the text of the Revised Version is given, in which matter belonging to P is printed *in this type*; J's matter, *in this type*; the earlier source used by J, *in this type*; R's matter, *IN THIS TYPE*.

6:1. And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all that they chose. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not strive with man for ever, for that he also is flesh: yet shall his days be an hundred and twenty years. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days, AND ALSO AFTER THAT, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them: the same were the mighty men of old, the men of renown. And the Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him

at his heart. And the Lord said, I will destroy man WHOM I HAVE CREATED from the face of the ground; BOTH MAN, AND BEAST, AND CREEPING THING, AND FOWL OF THE AIR; for it repenteth me that I have made them. But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.

6:9. *These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God. And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.*

6:13. *And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. And this is how thou shalt make it: the length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. A light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. And I, behold, I do bring the flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall die. But I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of the fowl after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.*

7:1. *And the Lord said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his female; of the fowl also of the air, seven and seven, MALE AND FEMALE: to keep seed alive upon the face of the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground. And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.*

7:6. ¹*And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters² was upon the earth.* ³*And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the ground, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, MALE AND FEMALE, AS GOD⁴ commanded Noah.* ⁵*And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same*

¹ Well. makes this sentence R.

² Kautzsch and Socin make this word a gloss.

³ Vs. 7-9 were originally J, but have been worked over by R; this, as K. and S. say (p. 12), explains the discrepancy between the distinction of clean and unclean in v. 8, and the number two in v. 9. They are given as J. It might be better to represent as R.

⁴ Sam., Targ., and Vulg. have הוהו.

⁵ This verse has this position as a result of the Redactor's work, for it probably stood originally before v. 7.

day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; they, and every beast after its kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every fowl after its kind, every bird of every sort. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded him: and the Lord shut him in. ⁶AND THE FLOOD WAS FORTY DAYS UPON THE EARTH; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth. And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both fowl, and cattle, and beast, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: all in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living thing was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and creeping thing, and fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days.

8:1. And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, and the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of an hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven, and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, in her mouth an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; and she returned not again unto him any more. And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dried. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.

8:15. And God spake unto Noah, saying, Go forth of the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee. Bring forth with thee every living

⁶ K. and S. make "And the flood was....upon the earth," P; "forty days," R; Dillmann makes the whole of it J.

thing that is with thee of all flesh, both fowl, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him: every beast, every creeping thing, and every fowl, whatsoever moveth upon the earth, after their families, went forth out of the ark. And Noah builded an altar unto the Lord; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled the sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease. And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth. And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air; with all wherewith the ground teemeth, and all the fishes of the sea, into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be food for you; as the green herb have I given you all. But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat. And surely your blood, the blood of your lives, will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it: and at the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man. And you, be ye fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein.

9:8. And God spake unto Noah, and to his sons with him, saying, And I, behold, I establish my covenant with you, and with your seed after you; and with every living creature that is with you, the fowl, the cattle, and every beast of the earth with you; of all that go out of the ark, even every beast of the earth. And I will establish my covenant with you; neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of the flood; neither shall there any more be a flood to destroy the earth. And God said, This is the token of the covenant which I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for perpetual generations: I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass, when I bring a cloud over the earth, that the bow shall be seen in the cloud, and I will remember my covenant, which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh; and the waters shall no more become a flood to destroy all flesh. And the bow shall be in the cloud; and I will look upon it, that I may remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth. And God said unto Noah, This is the token of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh that is upon the earth.

9:18. And the sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were Shem, and Ham, and Japheth: and Ham is the father of Canaan.⁷ These three were the sons of Noah: and of these was the whole earth overspread.

9:20. And Noah began to be an husbandman, and planted a vineyard: and he drank of the wine, and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent. And Ham, the father of⁸ Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brethren without. And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward,

⁷ Well., Bud., Kuen. make "and Ham is the father of Canaan" = R.

⁸ Well., Bud., Kuen. make "And Ham the father of" = R.

and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him. And he said,

Cursed be Canaan;

A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.

And he said,

Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem;

And let Canaan be his servant.

God enlarge Japheth.

And let him dwell in the tents of Shem;

And let Canaan be his servant.

9:28. And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. And all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died.

1. *The Language.* In order to save space, a briefer form of presentation will henceforth be adopted. The difference between J proper and the writer from whom he has probably taken 6:1-4; 9:20-27 will not be noticed.

1) LANGUAGE OF P.

6:9, (1) אלה תולדות נח, see p. 23; (2) תמים, Josh. 10:13 (very doubtful) and Josh. 24:14 (E), not in JE, but in P nearly forty times; cf. תם as used by J (Gen. 25:27); (3) בררתיו, used only in sg. by JE (cf. 7:1), but in plur. by P forty-three times, usually in a form like this; התהלך את-א' אלהים (cf. 5:22,24) see p. 33; (5) אלהים.

6:10, (1) ויולד Hiph. instead of Qāl, see p. 33.

6:11,12, (1) אלהים; (2) כל-בשר, also 6:13,17, 19; 7:15,16,21; 8:17; 9:11,15-17.

6:13, (1) אלהים; (2) כל-בשר; משחית, also in Pl. (cf. J's מחה), also 6:17; 9:11,15.

6:14,15, (1) גפר, only here; (2) כפר, only here; (3) קומה, only in P eleven times.

6:16, (1) צהר not used in this sense by JE, who, however, use the dual ("noon"), cf. Gen. 48:16,25; cf. J's חלון, 8:6.

6:17, (1) ואני הנני (see below, p. 44), cf. on the other hand, 7:4; (2) המבול, note the use of article which presupposes an acquaintance with the story and cf. J, 7:4 and מי המבול, 7:10 (also P. 9:11), in which it is introduced as something which must be described beforehand that it may be understood; (3) שחת; (4) נשמת, רוח חיים (see above); (5) גוע, by J (or R) 7:22, corresponding to 2:7; (6) גוע, in P twelve times, not in JE, who use מות.

6:18, (1) הקים ברית, 9:9,11; 17:7,19,21; Ex. 6:4; also נתן 9:12; 17:2; Num. 25:12; cf. JE's כרת, 15:18; 21:27,32; 26:28; 31:44; Ex. 31:10, 27; Josh. 9:6,7,11,15,16; 24:25; (2) the expression, אותה וגו'.

6:19, (1) כל בשר; (2) זכר ונקבה.

6:20, (1) למינהו; (2) רמש.

6:21, (1) אכלה, cf. 1:29,30; 9:3; note also מאכל.

6:22, (1) אלהים; (2) כן עשה emphatic, not in JE; (3) צוה אתו (see below).

7:6, (1) the calculation בן-שש וגו' (2) המבול (see above); (3) מים על-הארץ cf. 6:17.

7:11, (1) the calculation; (2) תהום, see Gen. 1:2; (3) ארכות.

7:13-16a, (1) עצם = "self-same," cf. 17:23,26; (2) למינה "wild beast," cf. 1:24-26; (3) רוח חיים; (4) רמש; (5) למינהו; (6) כל-בשר; (7) זכר ונקבה; (8) אלהים; (9) חיה; (10) ארכות; (11) צוה אתו, also 6:22, cf. J's צוהו (7:5).

7:18-21, (1) יגברו also 7:19,20,24, same thought as that just expressed in 7:17b; (2) מאד מאד; also 17:2,6,20; Ex. 1:7; Num. 14:7 (cf. Gen. 30:43); (3) the calculation עשרה וגו' (4) חיה; (5) שרץ; (6) כל-בשר; (7) גוע distributively, cf. 8:17; 9:2,10,16; 17:23; Ex. 12:19; Num. 31:11; (8) חיה; (9) שרץ.

7:23b,24, (1) רמש; (2) יגברו.

8:1,2a,3b-5, (1) אלהים; (2) החיה; (3) שכנ, only in Num. 17:20 (P); (4) סכר only here in Hex., J has סגר; (5) תהום; (6) ארכות; (7) the calculations in vs. 4,5.

8:13a,14-19, (1) the calculations in 13a,14; (2) אלהים; (3) "thou, etc." (v. 16); (4) חיה; (5) שרץ; (6) כל בשר distributive; (7) רמש; (8) שרץ; (9) פרו ורבו (cf. 1:22); (10) חיה (v. 19); (11) למשפתיהם, cf. 10:5,20,31, etc. רמש;

פרו ורבו וגו' (3) : אלהים (2) ; ויברך (1) 9:1-3 ; (4) מורא, only here and four times in Deut., in Hex. ; (5) חת, only here and twice in Job, cf. Gen. 35:5 (P or R) ; (6) רמש ; (7) יהיה חתה Gen. 35:5 (P or R) ; (8) עשב עש, 1:30. לאכלה, cf. 1:30 ; (9) ריק עשב, 1:30.

9:4-7, (1) the legal phraseology in vs. 4,5,6 ; (2) פרו ורבו (3) ; אלהים (4) ; צלם.

9:8-11, (1) אלהים (2) ; ואני הנני, cf. 6:17 ; (3) 9:8-11, (1) אלהים (2) ; ואני הנני, cf. 6:17 ; (3) הקים ברית, cf. 6:18 ; (4) "you, etc." ; (5) ב distributive ; (6) חית הארץ (twice) ; (7) הקים ברית ; (8) כל בשר (9) ; שחת.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.

6:1-4, (1) החל, cf. 4:26 ; 9:20 ; 10:8 ; (2) אדמה ; (3) בני האלהים (see below under "theology"), not found elsewhere in the Hex., but cf. Gen. 3:22 ; 11:6,7 ; (3) טוב in a physical sense, cf. 2:9 ; Ex. 2:2 ; (4) דון, cf. 15:14 ; 30:6 ; 49:16, but not in P ; (5) נפלים, also Num. 13:33, not in P ; (6) גבור, also 10:8,9 ; Josh. 1:14 ; 6:2 ; 8:3 ; 10:2, 7, but not in P.

6:5-8, (1) יהוה (2) ; יצר, cf. 8:21 ; (3) רק ; (4) 6:5-8, (1) יהוה (2) ; יצר, cf. 8:21 ; (3) רק ; (4) יתעצב (see below) ; (5) יהוה (6) ; יתעצב נחם (see below) ; (8) מחה used throughout as the technical word for "destroy," corresponding to P's שחת (in v. 7 אשר בראתי, and מאדם השמים are by R) ; (8) נחמתי (9) ; מצא חן, in JE, twenty-two times, not in P.

7:1-5, (1) יהוה (2) ; דור, cf. 6:9 (P) ; (3) 7:1-5, (1) יהוה (2) ; דור, cf. 6:9 (P) ; (3) כל-ביתך in contrast with "thou, etc." (P), cf. 7:7, where R has assimilated J to P ; (4) טהור not in P until Lev. 11, for the distinction between clean and unclean, like the name יהוה, and the rite of sacrifice would in P's eyes be an anachronism before the Mosaic period (see below) ; (5) אש ואשתו (twice), for which P has לימים (6) ; [perhaps all of 3a = R] ; (6) זכר ונקבה also 7:10 ; (7) אנכי, cf. אני (P), 6:17 ; 9:9, etc. ; (8) ממטיר, cf. 2:5 ; (9) מחה (10) ; יקום, also 7:23, only other occurrence Dt. 11:6, cf. P in 8:1 ; 9:17, and the whole half verse with 6:17 ; (11) האדמה ; (12) צוה for which P has צוה אתו, cf. 6:22 ; 7:16.

7:7,10,12, (1) For ביתו ובניו...אתו read as in 7:1 ; (2) מי המבול (see above), but see same phrase also in 9:11 (P) ; (3) מי המבול (v. 10) ; (4) גשם, but in P the deluge is not caused by rain ; (5) the use of the round number "forty."

7:16b,17,22,23, (1) סגר, in P only Hiph. (Lev. 13:4, except in the doubtful passage Ex. 14:3, but in JE ten times ; cf. סכר, 8:2 (P) ; (2) the

9:12-17, (1) אלהים (2) ; נתן ב' (cf. 17:2 ; Num. 25:12 ; (3) דרות (pl.), see above ; (4) נתן (v. 13) in sense of "place," "put" (see above) ; (5) כל בשר (v. 15, twice) ; (6) שחת (7) ; אלהים (v. 16) ; (8) כל בשר (9) ; אלהים (v. 17) ; (10) הקים ברית ; (11) כל בשר.

9:28,29 ; both verses are but a continuation of P's genealogy in ch. 5, and the whole phraseology is characteristic.

round number "forty" (v. 17) ; (3) אף (cf. Gen. 2:7 and below), stem not in P, but forty times in JE ; (4) רוח, which after נשמת is superfluous, is the result of an assimilation of the two narratives by R ; (5) נשמת (6) ; מות, when P would say גוע (7) ; מחה (8) ; יקום (9) ; האדמה ; while (10) מאדם....מן הארץ is R.

8:2b,3a, (1) גשם, see 7:12 ; (2) שוב (twice), cf. שבו (8:1).

8:6-12,13b, (1) חלון, for which P has צהר (2) ; חסר also v. 11 and 16:4,5, for which P has חסר and על פני האדמה (3) ; שכן (4) ; חול (v. 10) not elsewhere in Hex. ; (5) ויסק (vs. 10,12), cf. 4:2 ; (6) מכסה, but P's ark had a פתח בצדה (6:16) ; (7) פני האדמה.

8:20-22, (1) מוכח (twice), frequently in JE, but not in P previous to Mosaic legislation, cf. טהור (2) ; עלה, טהור, מנחה, יהוה (twice) ; (3) עלה (verb) and עלה (noun) not in P before Mosaic legislation ; (4) יהוה (twice) ; (5) שחת, cf. P's קלל (7) ; יכף (6) ; אל לבו (7) ; האדמה (9) ; בעבור, cf. 3:17 ; (10) יצר, cf. 6:5 ; (11) יכף (12) ; כל-חי (cf. 3:20 with 6:19) ; (13) קר, קין, חרף only here in Hexateuch ; (14) חס, cf. Gen. 18:1, not in P.

9:18-21, (1) הוא אבי כ' (cf. 4:20,21 ; 10:21 ; 11:29 ; 22:21, an expression not found in P) ; (2) נפדו הגוים, for which P has נפצה כל הארץ, 10:5,32 ; (3) חלל = be first to ; (4) אש, cf. 48:34, but not in P ; (5) נטע, cf. 48:34, but not in P ; (6) שחר, cf. 4:20 ; 9:27 ; 12:8 ; 13:3,5 ; 18:1,2,6,9,10 ; 24:67 ; 25:27 ; 26:25 ; 31:25,33 (three times), 34 ; 33:19 ; 35:21 (J or R) ; not in P before Ex. 16.

9:22-27, (1) בחוץ in 24:31 (J) ; Ex. 21:19 (E), not in P, which, however, has חוץ (Lev. 18:9), and מחוץ, Gen. 6:14 ; Ex. 25:11 ; 37:2 ; (2) שמלה, in JE fourteen times, not in P ; (3) אחרית, not in P, nor elsewhere in JE ; (4) אהל (5) ; יהוה (6) ; ארור.

2. The Style.

1) STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as is seen in (a) the introduction אלה תולדות; (b) the five months (of 30 days) of increase of flood; (c) the five months of decrease; (d) the gradual leading up to the Noachic covenant (9:1-17) with the law of bloodshed which is given in such detail as to show that it is a point of greatest importance in the writer's mind; (e) the return to the formula of ch. 5 in 9:28,29.

(2) *Is minute, chronological, scientific*, as seen in (a) the calculation of the age of Noah 7:6,11; 9:28,29; (b) the notice of the kind of wood of which the ark was made 6:14; (c) its general fashion, 6:16; (d) its exact dimensions 6:15, cf. the details of the construction of the tabernacle by the same writer, Ex. 25, etc; (e) how it was caulked; (f) its window, door, rooms; (g) its three stories to accommodate perhaps the threefold classification of animals; (h) the provision for food (6:21); (i) the rigid classification in 6:18; 7:13; (j) the classes of animals in 6:20; 7:14,21; 8:1,17,16; 9:2,10; (k) the use of למשפחותיהם, זכר ונקבה, למינו etc.; (l) the trouble taken to declare the absolute universality of the flood;* (m) the legal phraseology of 9:4-6.

(3) *Is rigid, stereotyped*, as seen in (a) אלה תולדות (6:9); (b) את-א' נח (6:9); (c) the regular formulas of 9:28,29; (d) the repetition of many phrases (cited below); (e) the prosaic command to Noah to leave the ark (8:15-16), as compared with the poetic representation of the dove and raven (8:6-12,13b); (f) his account of the exit (8:17) compared with that of J (8:20-22); (g) the barrenness of the symbol of the rainbow (9:14,15) as compared with its meaning and force in what was probably its original position (viz., after 8:21); (h) the lack of rhetorical perspective, the smallest detail receiving as much attention as the most important matter.

(4) *Is verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (a) the repetition of 5:32b by 6:10; (b) of 6:11 by 6:12; (c) of כל-בשר, 6:19; 7:15,21; 8:17; 9:11,15,16,17; (d) of בני ובינך (or נתתי), 6:18; 9:9,11,12,13 (cf. 15,16,17); (e) of בני ובינך in many passages; (f) in 9:8-17 as compared with 8:21,22; for all of 9:8-17, except vs. 13 and 15b, might be omitted and the thought be expressed (cf. the possible condensation of ch. 17); (g) similarity of 9:1-3 and 1:28-30.

2) THE STYLE OF J.

Here as elsewhere the characteristics of J's style are clear. It is in every particular in contrast with that of P, since it

* Now that science has demonstrated the impossibility of supposing that a universal deluge ever took place, it is quite common for interpreters to reconcile the statements of the Bible concerning the deluge with science, by understanding the language of the biblical narrative to be merely oriental exaggeration. However this may be, can any one read the statement in 7:19-23 and doubt for a moment that the writer of it believed, or, at all events, was endeavoring to make others believe that the flood was absolutely universal?

(1) *Is free and flowing*, as will be felt by even a hasty perusal of the material, separated from that of P.

(2) *Is characterized by the introduction of the ancient story* of Noah's drunkenness, 9:20-24; and the *ancient song* conveying Noah's blessing and curse, 9:25-27; cf. 4:22-24.

(3) *Is picturesque and poetical*, as seen in (a) the use of the graphic מַחֶה instead of P's שָׁחַת; (b) his summarization of what is unimportant, cf. 7:1 with 6:18 and 7:13; (c) his expanding the poetic, as in the story of the dove and raven, 8:6-11; 8:20-22; (d) his mention of the time of day 8:11, cf. also 15:12; 18:1; 19:23; 24:63, etc.; (e) a comparison of 7:22 (J) with 7:21 (P), of 8:2b,3a with 8:2a,3b; (f) the less scientific idea of the ark, with a מִכְסָּה which can be lifted by the occupant.

(4) *Is anthropomorphic*, as seen in the representation of Yahweh (a) repenting that he has created man at all (6:7); (b) closing the door after Noah has entered the ark (7:16b); (c) smelling the sweet odor of the sacrifice (8:21); (d) repenting that he has wrought this great destruction among men (8:2); (e) promising never to do so again (8:22).

3. *The Material*.—It is perhaps easier to present the essential features of the material in a series of remarks, rather than by a minutely drawn contrast.

1. The material is throughout *duplicated*: (a) 6:5-8 = 6:9-22; (b) 7:7,10,12, 16b = 7:6,11,13-16a; 7:22,23 = 7:21; (d) 8:2b,3a = 8:2a,3b; (e) 8:13b = 8:13a,14; (b) 8:20-22 = 9:1-17. A careful comparison of these passages shows the evidence of two distinct accounts.*

2. As to the *duration of the deluge* there is, however, a strong contrast in the material, and as the text now stands it is impossible to produce an orderly chronological succession. Follow by way of experiment the language and style of J and P as gathered from previous sections, accept the analysis which these peculiarities offer, and we have the following representations:

(a) ACCORDING TO J.

7:4, Yahweh speaks: yet 7 days and I will cause it to rain 40
days and 40 nights..... Announcement.
7:10, after the 7 days the waters of the flood came..... 1st day.
7:12, 8:2b,3a, the rain was on the earth 40 days and 40 nights,
and the rain was restrained and the waters returned from
off the earth continually..... 40th day.

* Cf. in Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, the following table, presenting also (see opposite page) the corresponding material of the Assyrian. In this table (1) no distinction is made in the elements composing J; (2) there are a few minor variations from the analysis given in the translation above.

- 8:6, at the end of 40 days* Noah sends out a raven.....80th day.
 8:8, (after waiting 7 days)† he sends a dove which returned.....87th day.
 8:10, after another 7 days, he sends the dove again, and it returns
 at even, with an olive leaf, and he knows that the waters
 have diminished.....94th day.
 8:12,13b, he waits another 7 days, and sends forth the dove, takes
 off the covering and looks, and the ground is dry..... 101st day.

(b) ACCORDING TO P.

7:6,11,13, in Noah's 600th year, 2d month and 17th day, on this selfsame day, the sluice-gates of תְּרוֹם are broken up;	YR.	MON.	DAY.
on this selfsame day Noah and his family enters the ark...	600	2	17
7:18-20,24, the waters prevail 150 days (5 months).....		7	17
8:3,4, at the end of the 150 days the waters begin to decrease and gradually diminish until the tops of the mountains are seen in the 10th month and 1st day (about 2½ months).....		10	1
8:13a, the waters have entirely disappeared.....	601	1	1
8:14, the earth is again dry (after nearly 2 months).....	601	2	27
Time.....	1	0	10

ASSYRIAN.

GENESIS.

I., 11-16.
 I., 17-23.
 I., 24-27.
 I., 28-35.
 I., 36-38.
 I., 39-44.
 I., 45-52.
 II., 2-24.
 II., 25-34.
 II., 35-39.
 II., 40-50.
 III., 1-4.
 III., 5-18.
 III., 19-20.
 III., 21-23.
 III., 24-31.
 III., 32-36.
 III., 37-44.

III., 45a.
 III., 45b-50.

III., 51,52.

III., 53.
 IV., 1-11.
 IV., 12-20.
 IV., 21-22.
 IV., 23-30.

J DOCUMENT.

VI., 5-8.
 VII., 1.

 VII., 4.
 VII., 2,3.

 VII., 5.
 VII., 7-9.
 VII., 16.
 VII., 10; 12; 17.
 VII., 23.

VIII., 2b; 3a.

VIII., 6-12.

VIII., 13b.
 VIII., 20.

VIII., 21-22.

P DOCUMENT.

VI., 11-12.
 VI., 13-14.
 VI., 15-16.

 VI., 17-18.
 VI., 19-21.

 VI., 22.
 VII., 6; 11-16.
 VII., 18-20.
 VII., 21-22.

VII., 24.
 VIII., 1; 2a; 3b.

(VIII., 5; 13a; 14 replaces this
with a very different ac-
count, which does not con-
tain the story of the birds.)

VIII., 15-17.
 VIII., 18,19.

 IX., 1-11.
 IX., 12-16.
 IX., 17.

The figures which we give here indicate the columns and the line of the cuneiform tablet, as found in the transcription and interlinear translation of it in appendix V.

* It is, of course, a question whether two periods of forty days are referred to in the text or only one, cf. Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis*, p. 135; Schrader, *Studien zur Kritik und Erklärung der Biblischen Urgeschichte*, p. 152; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, p. 139.

† To be supplied in accordance with 8:10.

This is a total of 12 lunar months of about $29 \frac{3}{5}$ days + 10 intercalary days = 1 year of $365 \frac{1}{5}$ days.*†

3. As to the *form of the ark* there is also a different representation: P's ark has a "window-system," "light" (צָהָר) all around it, and so cannot be "opened"; J's has a "window" which Noah opens and shuts; P's has a "door in the side"; J's has a "cover" apparently on top (cf. 6:16; 8:6,13b).

4. It is to be noted in reference to the passages relating to *clean and unclean*, that P nowhere makes any such distinction, since this would be an anachronism of which he would not be guilty; cf. what has been said of יְהוָה, sacrifices, etc. In 7:15 and elsewhere it is distinctly stated that the animals were "two and two of all flesh," "male and female." J, on the other hand, always makes the distinction, and directs the clean beasts to be taken "seven by seven" (7:2,3 have been in part worked over by R; 7:8,9, thought by Dillmann to be wholly the work of R, are at all events largely by R).

5. *The general conception of the flood differs*: J treats it as the result of an exceptionally long and heavy rain, a freshet; P makes it something of a strangely miraculous nature, the details being consistent with his cosmological system. J makes the flood *local, limited*; P, being always generic rather than individual, thinks of "the whole earth," and with precision describes the rise of the waters till the tops of the highest mountains *which are under the heavens* are covered,—a *universal deluge*. In J the water runs off, dries up; in P it is reabsorbed by the תְּהוֹם, cf. 8:3a with 3b, and 8:7,8,11,13b with 8:1.

6. While the contrasts between P and J are so marked, the internal consistency of each is just as clear, e. g. (a) in J, 6:3 (God's spirit in man) refers to 2:7,8;

* Compare the exact figures for 1 mean synodical revolution of the moon, viz., 29 days 12 hrs. 44 mins., 2.87 secs., and for the year 365.256 days.

† For a discussion of the duration of the deluge, see commentaries *in loco*, especially Dillman, *Die Genesis*; Delitzsch, *A New Commentary on Genesis* (Vol. I. just translated). Compare also the suggestion (given here with slight changes) of Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 414, 415, as to the manner in which the Redactor combined the accounts of J and E:

The deluge begins the 17th of 2d month (from P).....	17th of Marheshvân;
At the end of 40 days (from J) the waters of the deluge have reached their greatest height, and the ark floats thereupon.....	toward the beginning of the month of Têbêth.
The strength of the cataclysm lasts in all 150 days (from P), including the 40 days above, and on the 17th of the 7th month the ark is grounded upon the top of Arârât.....	17th of Nisân.
The first of the 10th month (from P) the mountains emerge.....	1st of Tammûz.
After 40 days (from J), Noah opens the window of the ark and sends the first bird.....	10th of Ab;
21 days later, the dove returns for the last time, bringing the olive leaf (from J).....	1st of Elûl.
On the first day of the first month of the following year (from P), that is, a little more than 150 days after the waters have begun to fall, Noah becomes aware that they have gone down and that the earth is bare, but not in a habitable condition.....	1st of Tishrî.
He waits 57 days longer, that the soil may have time to harden, and goes forth from the ark on the 27th of the 2d month (from P)..	27th of Marheshvân.

6:4 (the Nephilim) to Num. 13:33 (J); 6:5 (the evil of man's heart) demands 8:21; 6:8 (Noah's acceptance by God) presupposes 5:29; 8:21 (the promise not again to curse) refers to 3:17-19; (b) in P, 6:9,10 (Noah's character and family) shows distinct connection with 5:32, also 5:22,24; 6:11,12 (the wicked ones of the earth) is in agreement with the unwritten contrast of 5:21-23; 6:18a (the promise of a covenant) demands 9:8-17; 6:18b,19,20 (the directions for entering the ark) demands 7:13-16; 8:17 (the directions for leaving the ark) demands 9:1; 9:6b (man's creation in God's image) refers to 1:27 and 5:1-3. There are still other indications of this consistency.

7. The account of the *mésalliance* of the angelic beings (6:1-4) (this is the only interpretation which has any real ground)* is evidently foreign to P. Its usual employment to serve as an introduction to the flood story, the 120 years being the time when "the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah," is very doubtful, in view of the reference in Num. 13:33 and of J's predilection for furnishing explanatory stories. It is evidently an explanation of the gigantic stature of the Anakim of Hebron before whom Israel's spies were as grasshoppers. As to the incompatibility of this, in common with 4:20-22, with any account of a flood, whether P or J, notice will be taken later.

8. The Noah-story in 9:20-27, when compared with P's material, is in striking contrast. Just as the priestly compiler of Chronicles passes over lightly the dark passages in David's life, where he refers to them at all, while the prophetic narrators in Samuel and Kings handle these passages without gloves, so P (a priest) and J (a prophet) stand related. The former knows of no strife between the herdmen of Lot and of Abram, their separation being due to lack of room (13:6). P does not understand that Jacob deceived his father, quarreled with Esau, and on this account fled to Mesopotamia; but (36:7) Esau separated from him because their possessions were too great for the land to endure them, and (27:46-28:2) Jacob went to Mesopotamia to get a wife of the family of his ancestors. Everywhere an extreme degree of propriety characterizes his heroes. It is inconceivable that P's narration of the man "who was perfect in his generations" and "walked with God" should contain Gen. 9:20-27. Concerning this passage, however, more will be said.

4. *The Theology*.—We notice the same general conceptions of God, of man's relation to God, and of divine working in this section as in the previous sections.

1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) The representation of God is lofty, dignified, and in striking contrast with that of J (see below).

(2) The only man to be saved from the impending destruction, is one who is perfect and blameless (6:9), and who, like Enoch, walks with God. Noah's

* The various attempts of commentators to explain this passage otherwise are as familiar as they are impossible; cf. Dillmann, *Die Genesis*, pp. 111-119.

obedience, though mentioned by P and J, is emphasized by the former; cf. 6:22 with 7:1.

(3) There is nowhere any reference to altars, sacrifice, the clean and unclean; for according to P's conception all these were revealed first to Moses. Cf. 7:15,16 with 7:2; and 9:1-17 with 8:20,21.

(4) Man is destroyed because of his wickedness, but there is something still beyond; there is, in fact, a great purpose in this destruction: the establishment of a covenant and the revelation of divine law. This is the supreme end which P has always in mind. We have here both a covenant and legislation. This is the second step; the first was narrated in ch. 1, the third and fourth are still in the future.

(5) In the description of events P magnifies and dignifies the supernatural. What in J is a natural event becomes in P the fiat of Almighty power. Note (a) the entrance of Noah into the ark with a pair of every kind of beast and bird (7:14-16), for which J has no corresponding miracle; (b) how, according to P, God *remembered* Noah and every living thing, etc., in the ark; and God *made a wind to pass over* the earth and the waters assuaged, etc. (8:1), and God *spoke unto Noah* and said, Go forth, etc. (8:15,16); while, from J, we learn that when the rain had ceased, it began to dry up, and that Noah looked out and ascertained for himself the condition of things by making an ingenious, yet natural, use of his dumb companions, the raven and the dove; (c) that, in general, P's heroes never move without directions from God; that these directions are always exceedingly explicit; and that the heroes go just so far and no farther; e. g., Noah, according to P, does not experiment on the state of the weather; he does not even venture to leave the ark for two months after "the waters were dried up from off the earth" (8:13a); he remains quiet until God commands him, "Go forth"; then he "goes forth," but nothing more. This conception of history, of the events in the lives of the patriarchs is everywhere characteristic of P, as will appear when the subsequent material is examined.

2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representation of Yahweh, as in the preceding sections, is rather that of a supernatural being than of an omnipotent God. The God who "causes it to rain upon the earth," is a somewhat different (i. e., smaller, more limited) conception, from the Creator who opens the sluices of the "expanse" and unlocks the channels of the "abyss." The intrigue of the "sons of God" with mortal women (6:1-4), together with the preconceptions on which this rests (cf. 3:22; 11:6,7), while, everything considered, not inconsistent with the conceptions of J, as gathered from his material elsewhere, is far removed from anything which P has written. The anthropomorphisms are frequent and striking, e. g., (a) repenting that he has made man (6:6); (b) closing the door of the ark (7:16b); (c) mollified

by the sweet smell of the sacrifice and saying in his heart (8:20-22), "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake," etc.

(2) Man sustains close relations with Yahweh, has familiar intercourse with him and with the heavenly beings: (a) the women are chosen as wives by the angels (6:1-4); (b) the door of the ark is closed by Yahweh himself (7:16b); (c) man is regarded with compassion by Yahweh, who will hereafter plan some other method of punishment. According to P, "the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence, . . . for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth" (6:11,12). J describes it as follows: "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5), and yet, although because of this wickedness he brings upon him almost utter destruction, for this very reason, viz., the innate depravity of man (8:21), he will not again do this thing; since nothing is really to be gained by it.

(3) In accordance with what might be expected from previous sections, the distinction of clean and unclean (clearly marked out, cf. 7:2 with 7:15,16; and 8:20,21 with 9:1-7), the altar, the sacrifice of the clean, the burnt-offering, the sweet smell, legitimate enough from J's point of view, who understands all these to have existed from the very beginning, are in direct conflict with P's conception of the gradual progress of revelation.

(4) Compare with P's conception of the philosophy of history (see under 5) above) that of J, who represents his heroes as doing what in every case seems the most natural thing to do. Whenever possible, divine aid is dispensed with; e. g., the waters run off of themselves (8:3a); once inside the ark and the door closed, Noah is able to manage for himself; various expedients are employed; when he has learned by his own effort that the land is dry, he disembarks, makes known his safe arrival and secures the promise that in the future man shall be let alone.

Remarks.—1. The bearing of the Babylonian account of the deluge referred to above is not without interest. The more important question which it raises, viz., What relation exists between it and the Hebrew accounts? is one which lies outside of the scope of this discussion. It seems, however, to throw some light upon the question in hand, and is understood by Assyriologists to speak emphatically in favor of a double authorship of the Hebrew material.

2. It is possible, perhaps, to explain away some of the facts indicated above in the interests of a theory maintaining a single authorship, e. g., (a) 6:5-8 belongs to a section which closes with a statement of the divine determination to destroy man; 6:9-13, called by critics a duplicate, is necessary to introduce an entirely new section; (b) the variation in divine names furnishes no criterion for distinguishing documents; each word for divinity has a significant meaning; the change from Elohim to Yahweh in 7:1 is intended to show that God now appears as the covenant-God; (c) in 7:16 the use of Elohim and Yahweh presents a vivid

contrast, Elohim giving command concerning the beasts; Yahweh, the covenant-God, insuring the man's safety by closing the ark; (d) there is no discrepancy in reference to the number of animals; when the command was first given, 120 years before the catastrophe, the number indicated was a general one; when the time for action arrives an additional detail is given, viz., that of the few clean beasts seven shall be taken; (e) the repeated statements concerning the entering of the ark, 7:5, 13, 15, only lend vividness to the narrative, and heighten its dramatic effect. Statements of a similar character concerning other points have been put forward. These statements are found to be in most cases unnatural and forced, while in some cases they are almost wholly untenable.

V. The Analysis of Gen. 10:1-12:5 (Table of Nations, Dispersion, Genealogy, Call of Abram).

Of this section there is assigned to P, 1) the *tôledhōth* of the sons of Noah, 10:1-7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32; 2) the *tôledhōth* of Shem, 11:10-26; 3) the *tôledhōth* of Terah, 11:27, 31 (worked over), 32; 12:4b, 5. To J is assigned, 1) peopling of earth from Noah's sons, 10:8, 10-12, 13-19, 21, 24-30 (for R's work, see above); 2) tower of Babel, dispersion, Abram and his family, 11:1-9 (see p. 56), 28-30 (exc. **בְּאֵר** **כְּשָׁרִים** = R); 3) call of Abram, 12:1-4a.

1. The Language.

1) LANGUAGE OF P.

10:1-7, (1) **אֱלֹהִים תּוֹלְדוֹת**; (2) **וַיִּוְלְדוּ**, cf. **יָלַד** (10:21); in vs. 8, 13, 15, 21, 25, 26 (all J) the use of **יָלַד** with (3) **בְּנֵי יִפֶּת**, the regular formula for P in this chapter; vs. 3, 4, 6, 7, 22 (P); cf. also Num. 26:5, 8, 9, 12, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 38, 44, 48; never in JE; (4) same formula in vs. 3, 4; (5) **לְמִשְׁפַּחֹתָם**, cf. 8:19, and in the regular formula, 10:20, 31; (6) **בְּנוֹיָהֶם**, cf. 10:20, 31, 32; (7) **פָּרַד**, cf. **פָּלַג** (J) in 10:25; (8) **אִיִּים** (v. 5), only here in Hex.; (9) **בְּנֵי** (v. 6) (see above); (10) **בְּנֵי** (v. 7) twice.

10:20, 22, 23, 31, 32, (1) **לְמִשְׁפַּחֹתָם**; (2) **בְּנוֹיָהֶם**; (3) **בְּנֵי** (v. 22); (4) **בְּנֵי** (v. 23); (5) **לְמִשְׁפַּחֹתָם** (v. 31); (6) **לְגִוְיָהֶם**; (7) **תּוֹלְדוֹת** (v. 32), never in JE, but in P twenty-eight times, cf. Gen. 25:13; Ex. 6:16, 19; (8) **פָּרַד** (v. 32, see above); (9) v. 32, the verse as a whole a formula of P, cf. 10:1, 5, 20, 31.

11:10-26, (1) **אֱלֹהִים תּוֹלְדוֹת**; (2) **וַיִּוְלַד** (Hiph.) in each verse down to 26; (3) the form of the entire material.

11:27, 31, 32, (1) **אֱלֹהִים תּוֹלְדוֹת**; (2) **הוֹלִיד**, twice; (3) **אֹר כְּשָׁרִים** (?) not found in JE; occurs in 11:28 and 15:7, where it is probably R; JE makes the land of Abram's nativity "the city of Nahor" and "Haran," cf. 24:10; 27:43; 28:10; 29:4; (4) the calculation of age (v. 32).

12:4b, 5, (1) the calculation of age (4b); (2) **רָכַשׁ** and **רָכַשׁ**, cf. the subst. in R, Gen. 14:11, 12, 16, twice, 21; 15:14; in P, Gen. 13:6; Num. 16:32; 35:3; the verb also in 31:18; 36:6; 46:6; a regular formula of P, neither verb nor subst. occurring in JE, which always uses **מָקָנָה**.

2) LANGUAGE OF J.

Remark.—Gen. 9:18-27 properly connects with this section, 9:18, 19 (whether J or R) being the heading of J's table of nations, 9:20-27 being a prophetic description of the three great races corresponding to ch. 49.

10:8-12, (1) יִלֵּד, which is not sufficiently precise and exact for P, who (see above) uses הוֹלִיד; the universal link of all J's genealogies, cf. 4:17-19; also 10:13,15,26; 22:23; 25:3; (2) הַחֵל (see above, on 4:26); (3) גִּבּוֹר (cf. 6:4); (4) הוּא הִיָּה (cf. 4:2b, etc.); (5) גִּבּוֹר twice (v. 9); (6) יְהוָה twice; (7) עֵל-כֵּן (cf. 2:24).

10:13-30, (1) יִלֵּד (vs. 13,15); (2) פּוֹץ (v. 18), cf. P, 10:5,32; (3) יִלֵּד לְ (v. 21), cf. 4:26; 10:25, not found in P; (4) הוּא (v. 25), not found elsewhere, cf. v. 18 and P, vs. 5,32; (6) יִלֵּד; (7) מוֹשֵׁב, cf. 27:39; Num. 24:21; but of the location of a people not found in P.

11:1,2, (1) שָׁפָה, רִבְרִים, cf. in P לשוֹנָה, 10:5,20,31; (2) מִקְדָּם (see under "material"); (3) בִּקְעָה, not in P; cf. Josh. 11:8,17; 12:7 (D on basis of JE); (4) שָׁנַעַר, only here, 10:10 (J) and 14:1,9(?).

11:3, (1) אִישׁ אֶל-רַעְיָהּ, never in P, who uses אִישׁ אִישׁ, or more frequently אִישׁ אֶל-אֲחִיו; also, in JE, 11:7; 15:10; 31:49; 43:33; Ex. 11:2; 18:7,16; 21:14,18,35; 22:6,9,13; 32:27; 33:11; (2) יִהְיֶה (v. 4) not in P, but cf. 11:7; 29:21; 30:1; 38:16; 47:15,16; Ex. 1:10; Josh. 18:4; (3) לִבְנָה and לִבֵּן, not in P, in JE eleven times; (4)

חָמָר, not in P, cf. 14:10; Ex. 2:3; (5) חָמָר, in this sense not in P, cf. Ex. 1:14.

11:4, (1) יִהְיֶה; (2) מִגְדָּל, also 11:5; 35:21 (J or R), in P only as a proper name; (3) פֶּן, cf. 3:3; (4) פּוֹץ, not in P, but in JE, 10:18; 11:4,8,9; 49:7; Ex. 5:12; Num. 10:35.

11:5,6, (1) יְהוָה; (2) יִרַד of יְהוָה, never in P, who makes God "appear" (18:2); (3) מִגְדָּל, 11:4; (4) בְּנֵי הָאָדָם, cf. בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם (6:1); (5) יְהוָה (v. 6); (6) שָׁפָה; (7) חָלָל; (8) עֵתָה; (9) זָמַם, not elsewhere in Hex.

11:7-9, (1) יִהְיֶה; (2) יִרַד; (3) שָׁפָה; (4) אִישׁ אֶל-כֵּן; (5) יְהוָה (v. 8); (6) פּוֹץ; (7) עֵל-כֵּן; (8) יְהוָה twice; (9) פּוֹץ (v. 9).

11:28-30, (1) מוֹלֶדֶת, in P = "born," "progeny," בית being added to signify the place where born (Lev. 18:9), but in JE = "fatherland," cf. 12:1; 24:4,7; 31:3,13; 32:10; 43:7; Num. 10:30; (2) אָבִי twice, cf. 9:18; 10:21; 22:21, etc.; (3) שָׁם...וְשָׁם, cf. 4:22, not in P; (4) עִקְרָה, also 25:21; 29:31; Ex. 23:26, but not in P; (5) וְלָד, only here.

12:1-4a, (1) יְהוָה; (2) מוֹלֶדֶת (cf. 11:28); (3) גָּדַל (verb), once in P (Num. 6:5, law of Nazirite), in JE, twenty times; (4) אָרַר; (5) יְהוָה (v. 4).

2. *The Style.*—The old characteristics appear. Some of the specific cases may be cited.

1) THE STYLE OF P.

(1) *Is characterized by a systematic arrangement of material*, as seen in (a) the introductory formula אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת (10:1; 11:10); (b) the division under יִפֹּת (vs. 2-5); חָם (vs. 6,7,20); שָׁם (vs. 22,23,32); (c) the order of names beginning with the youngest that he may come to the eldest last and so carry on the descent from Adam through Shem in the line of the eldest son; (d) the colophon which closes each group, cf. vs. 5,20,31; (e) the concluding colophon to the whole table (v. 32); (f) the formal genealogy of ten members (counting Noah) branching into three with the tenth member (cf. ch. 5).

(2) *Is minute, chronological, scientific*, as seen in (a) the ethnological classification of the nations (vs. 5,20,31) "after their families," "after their tongues," "in their lands," "after their nations;" (b) the statistical character of this table as compared with that of J in the same chapter, which contains much historical and geographical material; (c) the precise statistics of Terah's migration (11:31), cf. 21:3; 25:12,19; 28:9, etc.; (d) the statement of Terah's age and death (11:32); (e) the statement of Abram's age when he resumes the journey (12:4b,5); (b) the regular formula for moving, "took his wife, and Lot his brother's son and all the substance which he had gathered," etc., cf. 31:18; 36:6; 46:6.

(3) *Is rigid and stereotyped*, as seen in (a) אֱלֹהֵי הַלְלוּת; (b) the repeated colophon (see above); (c) the repetition of many phrases (see below); (d) the absence of all variation, feeling, poetical touch; (e) the frame-work everywhere visible, etc.

(4) *Is verbose and repetitious*, as seen in (a) the long drawn out genealogical table of 11:10-32, cf. 5; (b) the phrases which make up the colophon; (c) "Abram, his son," "Lot, the son of Haran, his son's son;" "Sarai, his daughter-in-law, the wife of Abram, his son," etc. (11:31), cf. 21:3; 25:12,19; 28:9, etc.; (d) "to go to the land of Canaan, and they came into the land of Canaan" (12:5); (e) the redundancy of the second part of 10:1.

2) THE STYLE OF J.

(1) *Is full and flowing*, as in all previous sections of J.

(2) *Is characterized by the introduction of story and prediction*, as seen in (a) the allusion to Nimrod, the hunter (10:9); (b) the reference to the beginning of the Assyrian empire (10:10); (c) the story of the conspiracy against heaven, and the dispersion (11:1-9); (d) the blessing pronounced on Abram (12:1-3).

(3) *Is picturesque and poetical*, as seen in (a) the discursive character of J's table as compared with P's, interrupting the list to relate an anecdote in order to account for a current saying (10:9), to give scraps of historial information (10:11, 14) or geographical material (10:19,30); (b) the varied form of the material, cf. v. 15 with vs. 21,25,26; (c) the interest maintained all through by means of little reminders of history attached to their names, and descriptions of character, e. g., "Nimrod"—he was a mighty hunter; "Shem"—he was the father of Eber; "Casluhim"—the Philistines came from thence; (d) the description of the whole earth as of one speech (11:1); (e) the characteristic explanation of the name Babel (11:9); (f) the contrast between J's heading (9:18,19), and that of P (10:1).

(4) *Is anthropomorphic*, as seen in the representations of Yahweh: (a) the expression "mighty hunter before Yahweh;" (b) the descending of Yahweh to see the danger which was threatening heaven (11:5); (c) the fear that man will soon prove so strong as that nothing will be out of his reach; (d) the exhortation to those about him to go down and confound the multitude (11:7).

(5) *Is antiquarian*, showing special interest in sacred places and connecting with these places old stories. We notice in connection with *Haran*, the first instance of this interest. In the material which follows, hardly a story is related which does not attach itself to some sacred place, tree or fountain, cf. the stories connected with Bethel, Beersheba, Shechem, etc., etc.

3. *The Material*.—This may best be considered in a series of remarks.

1. At first sight, the whole of ch. 10, if the claims heretofore made for P are of any value, would seem to be from that writer. Is not the entire chapter

a list of names? But if the linguistic peculiarities of P and J, noted in chs. 1-9, be followed in this ch., it is found to divide itself into two divisions; and we have here a repetition of what has met us before, viz., two treatments of the same subject.

2. The aim of the Redactor in this ch. has been to fit the two tables together, in such a way as that they shall supplement each other, rather than to give us two parallel tables. In doing this, he has of course made many omissions; yet, notwithstanding his effort to accomplish this, there still exist evidences of a double frame-work, and also of duplication of material. Here may be noticed the following points: (a) The head of P's table is 10:1, that of J's 9:18,19, and these stand in significant contrast; (b) P closes each division of his table with a colophon, 10:5,20,31, J closes each division with a description of the region occupied by the nations enumerated; but of these descriptions only two remain, vs. 19 and 30; (c) P introduced each division by a formula, **בְּנֵי חָם** (10:2), **בְּנֵי שֵׁם** (10:6), **בְּנֵי שֵׁם** (10:22), J introduced his divisions as in 10:21 **וְלִשְׁם יֶלֶד וְנֵר**, but of the three headings only this one remains. It is really surprising that R retained as much of the characteristic element of each table as is found; in this connection may be noted that (d) 12:4a is duplicated in 12:4b,5; (e) 11:30 is duplicated in 16:1.

3. In 10:7 (P) we read (important words underscored): "And the sons of Cush; *Seba* (**סֶבָא**), and *Havilah*, and *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and *Sabteca*; and the sons of Raamah; *Sheba* (**שֶׁבָא**), and *Dedan*." In 10:28,29 (J) we read as among the sons of Joktan (v. 26): "Obal, and Abimael, and *Sheba* (**שֶׁבָא**); and Ophir, and *Havilah*." P makes Sheba and Havilah sons of Ham (through Cush); J makes them sons of Shem (through Joktan). It is possible that there may have been two nations for each of the names. But since the "dwelling" of those mentioned in vs. 28,29 was (v. 30) in the same general direction (S. E.) as that of the Sheba and Havilah of v. 7, and since but one Sheba and Havilah are known to the Scriptures, these being prominent Arabian tribes, there seems to be little ground for doubting the identity (cf. Gesenius, 10th edition, which recognizes the existence of two Havilah's (p. 252), but under **שֶׁבָא** (p. 823) remarks, "The different statements exhibit different sources"). These cannot be the names of persons, in which case there would be little objection to the other explanation.

4. There is little or no narrative in this section of P, and hence cross references cannot be expected; it may, however, be noted that (a) 10:1 fits on well to 9:17; (b) 10:32 is followed appropriately by 11:10; (c) 11:32 connects well with 11:27 (or according to Well. with 11:28); (d) 12:4b follows naturally 11:32; (e) 11:10 agrees with 10:22, because a comparison of the names with their position on the map shows that in ch. 10, P enumerates according to geographical position and not age; (f) 11:10 connects this section also with 5:32; 7:6; 8:13,14, and P's chronology in general; it may be asked: If Noah was 500 years old (i. e., in his

501st year) when he begat Shem (5:32), and was 600 years old when the deluge came (7:6), and Arpachsad was born two years after the deluge (11:10), must not Shem have been 102, rather than 100, years old when Arpachsad was born? But P is a close calculator. Shem and Arpachsad were "begotten" at the time mentioned, not "born," and the statement in 11:10 harmonizes exactly with the other texts cited.

5. There are several references in J to the sections preceding: (a) 10:8,9 is an allusion to the "heroes" whose origin was given in 6:1-4; (b) 10:25b points forward to the story of the dispersion, 11:1-9; (c) 10:10 refers to the "Babel" and "Shinar" of 11:1-9.

6. Even by the superficial reader there is felt a difficulty in passing from ch. 10 to ch. 11. This difficulty with others may be stated: (a) In ch. 10 the nations of the earth are settled "after their families, after their tongues (note this expression), after their nations" (10:31). But in 11, without a word of warning, we are carried back to the time when "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" and the whole process of diffusion and differentiation of language, which had just been accomplished in one way, is now done over again in quite a different way (concerning this difference, see later). Ch. 10 describes the peopling of the earth, and alludes incidentally to the differences of speech; ch. 11:1-9 gives an account of the supernatural way in which the differences in human speech arose, and the consequent scattering of what was a homogeneous mass into different parts of the earth. Is it conceivable that the same author wrote both? (b) But to what period does 11:1 refer? We are told that, at this time, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" also, that vast multitudes unite in an effort to build a tower which shall reach heaven; again, that the purpose of this effort is, "lest we be scattered on the face of the whole earth"; and still further, that Yahweh is so greatly impressed with the vastness of their united strength, that he himself declares that unless this united action is interrupted, there will be nothing too great for them; and so he scatters them abroad upon the whole earth. What period will cover all these statements? (1) Certainly not that *before* the deluge, for the writer is evidently speaking of a present Babel, and of present peoples; besides 10:25 would seem to be a reference to this story. (2) Then it must be *after* the deluge, but how long after? 10:10 says either that Nimrod founded Babel (how, then, was it built by "the whole earth" (4:3)?), or, better, that it was not built by Nimrod, but having been founded in a preceding generation, existed in his day. The preceding generation was that of Cush; but at that time the total population of the earth was only sixteen families, even supposing all the sons of Shem, Ham and Japheth to have lived, married and had children; while if we include as separate families those of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, there were twenty. But is it so remarkable a fact, as the narrative would seem to indicate, that twenty families should speak one language? Would twenty

families make up the mighty multitude of the story? Would twenty families be so impressed with their vast numbers as to undertake such work with such a purpose? Would Yahweh be represented as alarmed because of the encroachments of such a number? Would not twenty families scattered over the entire earth make a very sparse population? (3) The difficulty still exists if the position of 10:25 is adopted; for (the כַּל-בְּנֵי of v. 21 and the whole of v. 24 = R) Peleg is no further removed from Shem than was Nimrod from Ham. (4) Even granting the genuineness of 10:24, and understanding the period to be that of the fifth generation, we do not find the "multitudes" demanded by the story. (c) Ch. 11: 1-9 is therefore incongruous (1) with the P-element of ch. 10, for there the differences of language are already spoken of as in existence; (2) with the J-element of ch. 10, although the writer recognizes it in v. 25, at the same time adopting a different theory as to the whole matter; (3) with any deluge story whatever, for it will not stand either before or after the deluge; (d) the people described in 11: 1-9, however, seem to be related to those (1) who intrigued with the sons of God (6:1-4); (2) whose first migration was "eastward from Eden, in the land of Nod" (4:16), and who are still journeying in the East; (3) who had built a city and cultivated the arts (4:17-24); (4) who had begun to multiply upon the earth (6:1), and whose life was limited to 120 years to prevent their attaining too much influence (6:3); (5) whose numbers are now (11:1) so great as to arouse new anxiety and compel Yahweh again to interfere or "nothing will be withholden from them" (for the connection of these various passages see pp. 62, 63).

7. The table in 11:10-26 is (a) intended to serve the same purpose as that contained in ch. 5, viz., to furnish a list of the names connecting two important periods; (b) arranged on the same plan as that in ch. 5, except that it is shortened by omitting, (1) the total sum of years and (2) the concluding clause "and he died"; but (c), according to the Hebrew text, consists of nine instead of ten members, unless (1) Abraham is taken as the tenth corresponding to Noah of the first table (but he corresponds to Shem, not Noah), (2) after the example of the Sept. (which has inserted קִינָן before שְׁלֵה, a suspicious insertion in view of the use of קִינָן in the preceding table, and the fact that the numbers of Shelah (130, 330) are given to him) we suppose that one name has been omitted, a supposition exceedingly probable under all the circumstances; (d) as differently reproduced in the versions as was ch. 5 (see Dill. *in loc.*).

4. The Theology.

1) THE THEOLOGY OF P.

(1) Since P's material in this section consists only of (a) a list of nations derived from Noah's sons (in 10); (b) a list of Shem's descendants through ten generations (11:10-26); (c) five verses relating to the migration of Terah and the journey of Abram (11:27,31,32; 12:4b,5), there is nothing which throws additional light upon the conception of God entertained by that writer.

(2) In the former narratives, P has always magnified and emphasized the supernatural, while J has everywhere described events in a much more natural way (cf. pp. 50,51). Is not the method in this section reversed? Does not P furnish the naturalistic interpretation of that most wonderful fact, viz., the differences of speech, while J gives the supernatural account? So it would seem; but note that (a) what P gives us is not one story substituted for another; he simply moves on in the rigid, stereotyped style which has characterized him from the beginning; he is limited to the *תולדות בני נח*, and consequently has nothing to give but a table; (b) J himself has done practically the same thing; for, as has already been indicated, 11:1-9 is not originally the work of J, but of some other writer, and either taken up by J later, or combined with J by R; (c) the representation of Yahweh in 11:1-9 is one which P would not have accepted; for the introduction of such a story by P is inconceivable; (d) it is not quite correct to say that P substitutes the supernatural for the natural. His peculiarity is rather that, having accepted the miraculous in a given case, he dignifies and magnifies it; he makes his representation consistent with his conception of God.

(3) P does not think it necessary to state formally the reason for God's choice of Abram (cf. on the other hand, J in 15:6). His method of presentation, however, suggests the reason, viz., Abram is the eldest son of the eldest son as far back as Adam. This was reason enough.

(4) The time of Terah's migration is not, in P's mind, so important a period as J makes it. There is no occasion yet for an interposition of God, for a theophany. The regular scheme rolls on with its bare chronology of names and dates until, when Abram is 99 years old, God appears to him, promises Isaac and ordains in the same stereotyped and redundant forms of expression, the covenant of circumcision (17).

2) THE THEOLOGY OF J.

(1) The representations of Yahweh are similar to those already familiar. We find him (a) connected in some way with Nimrod in the form of a popular proverb (10:9); (b) coming down to see what the children of men are doing (18:21), to see if the report concerning Sodom's wickedness is really true; (c) alarmed because of the audacious attempts of men (11:6); (d) scattering mankind lest they become too strong (11:7); with which we may compare (e) man's expulsion from Eden because of his presumption (3:22), and (f) the struggle with Jacob (32:27). The fact that some of these representations are in material which was not original with J, does not affect the question; for in accepting the material he adopts as his own the representation.

(2) J holds tent-dwellers and shepherds in high esteem; city-builders and artisans are wicked men. Shamelessness (the account is so meagre as to leave the matter quite indefinite) is abhorred (9:25-27). Drunkenness is not so dis-

creditable as to prevent the transmission of Yahweh's blessing and curse by the utterance of one thus overcome. If we may for a moment anticipate, we find in his material the great mass of that undesirable matter of which Gen. 19:30-38; 25:22-26; 26:8; 30:14-16,36-43; 34 (the J portion); 38; 39; 49:4; Ex. 4:24-26 are examples. This is for the most part avoided by P.

(3) The prophetic statements in 12:1-3 are important in making an estimate of J's theological conceptions; they constitute a part of that most wonderful series which includes (a) 3:14,15, the struggle between mankind and sin; (b) 5:29, the help and consolation which is to come through Noah; (c) 8:21,22 the assurance that another deluge shall not come; (d) 9:25-27, the predictive words concerning Shem, Canaan and Japheth. P contains no such element. Without going into the details of this passage, it will be seen that J (a) interprets the divine purpose as to the future of Abram's family; (b) indicates the features of the future; (c) announces that the future of all other nations will be determined by their attitude toward this family.

(4) In this section there has been no occasion for reference to altars, shrines, sacrifice, etc.

VI. The more Detailed Analysis of the J Document.

When the P-elements of 1:1-12:5 are separated, they are found to constitute a complete unity,—a systematic, consistent whole, as far as the material under consideration continues. J, though much more homogeneous after the removal of P, has already been seen to contain certain incongruous elements, the chief of which were the passages inconsistent with the story of the deluge. Thus far nothing has been lost in considering the elements of J together, for while differing from each other in a most striking way in respect to "material," they are, for the most part, one in "language," "style," and "theology," and in these respects stand in the same contrast to P. The more important of the passages thus to be distinguished and the grounds for the separation may be considered briefly.* Understanding, for the sake of convenience, that portion of J, as a whole, which includes the deluge-story and the material consistent with that story, to be J², the remaining portions will be called J¹. Such a terminology naturally suggests that J¹ is older than J²; but leaves entirely open the question whether J¹ is to be taken as the original, J² being an interpolation; or J² is the real J, J¹ having been incorporated.

* The existence of the analysis does not rest upon the question of diverse elements in J. It was not the original purpose to introduce this question; but since (1) a presentation of the subject as found in Gen. 1:1-12:5 would be manifestly incomplete without this part; (2) this additional analysis rests largely upon but one of the four lines of argument generally employed, viz., the argument from "material," and thus presents an opportunity for testing the value of this argument when it stands alone; (3) the detailed interpretation of Gen. 1:1-12:5, if any analysis is accepted, is difficult except upon a consideration of the points here involved, it seems best to make at least a brief presentation of this matter.

1. Gen. 4:17-24, upon a careful examination, presents the following difficulties as the text now stands:

1) The section 4:2-16 relates how Cain becomes a murderer, a fugitive, an outcast from the society of men, dreading even to meet men,—a typical *nomad*; 4:17-24, on the other hand, presents Cain as an agriculturist, building a city (vs. 17,18), as if there had never been an event like that narrated in vs. 2-16.

2) The present text furnishes no answer to the old question, as to where Cain obtained his wife; as it now reads, nothing could be more abrupt or difficult than v. 17, “and Cain knew his wife,” etc. Evidently this is a section of some different account in which the attendant circumstances were different, and the popular query, so often ridiculed, has a critical basis.

3) Cain, we are told in v. 17 “was building a city.” This implies a number of men, and for this statement the original narrative must have furnished a ground; but it is more difficult to find even a small number of men at this juncture, than to find for Cain a wife.

4) The writer in 4:2 calls Abel a “keeper of sheep,” but in 4:20 Jabal is termed “the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle,” a designation which the context shows clearly to mean “father of shepherds,” “the original shepherd.”

5) The whole purpose of 4:17-24 is to explain the origin of the arts and of civilization; note the references to (a) the first city; (b) polygamy; (c) tent and shepherd life; (d) music; (e) manufacture of iron and bronze instruments. Furthermore the civilization, the origin of which the writer here describes, is the civilization of his own times. This could have been written only by one who knew of no interruption of human history by the deluge.

6) The seeming reference in v. 24 to v. 15 would seem, in spite of all these considerations, to show a close connection; but a study of the different senses in which **יָקַם שְׂבָעָתִים** is used in these passages, serves really to support the idea of different authorship.*

2. Gen. 6:1-4 presents the following difficulties:

1) Although evidently intended as an introduction to the deluge story, it does not in any satisfactory sense serve this end. And besides, it is superfluous, since 6:5-8 itself furnishes a complete introduction.

2) In its present connection, the 120 years of v. 3 are thought to indicate the time during which mankind should still be allowed to exist upon the earth, a period of respite; but (a) 6:4 shows conclusively that the writer of these words knew of no story of the deluge (see below); (b) such a respite is nowhere else referred to; (c) according to 7:4 seven days are considered sufficient for the warning. The 120 years, in the mind of the writer, constituted the maximum of human life; a limit is set in order to prevent man's attaining too great power.

* See Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 133ff.

3) This section (6:1-4) precedes the deluge, in which all mankind except Noah's family perished; and yet it gives us the origin of the Nephilim, who are still living at the time of the exodus (Num. 13:33), and of the **גבורים**, of whom one was Nimrod. Its contents are therefore entirely inconsistent with the idea of a deluge, and consequently with J, who narrates the deluge.

3. Gen. 9:20-27 also presents difficulties which can only be explained upon the supposition of a separate authorship:

1) Just as in 4:17-25 the chief idea was that of the origin of arts and civilization (Cain, a city-builder; Jabal, Jubal, Tubal, each the inventor of a distinct art; Nimrod a **גבור**), so here Noah is a husbandman, a rôle quite distinct from that of a navigator.

2) The actions here ascribed to his sons are hardly what would be expected of men over one hundred years of age, or of married men. They point rather to children playing around the tent-door. It is further to be noted that there is but one tent ("the tent"), which presumably was occupied by the father and three sons.

3) It is very difficult to explain why a curse should be pronounced by Noah upon the head of an innocent party, though a child of the true offender. The various explanations suggested are entirely unsatisfactory.

4) The story cannot be assigned to a period preceding the deluge; and obviously it cannot be made an introduction to the table of nations.

5) The three sons of Lamech are made the fathers of the world, classified according to types of civilization. This would seem to be sufficient; it would, at all events, be inconsistent with this to classify the world again under another triad, as is done in ch. 10. This song takes a more narrow outlook, viz., Shem (= Israel), Japheth (= Phœnicia), the one spread abroad over the earth, Canaan, the servant of servants, i. e. the Canaanite in subjection to the yoke of Israel and Phœnicia (partners in a brotherly covenant, cf. Amos 1:9). Reference is made *only* to the ancestry of the Palestinian nations (cf. Budde *in loc.*).

6) But what is the point of connection between the Shem, Japheth and Canaan of this passage and the Shem, Ham and Japheth of ch. 10. In the adjustment of history after the deluge, in which all mankind perishes, the hero of the deluge, Noah, must be made the ancestor of all races. J¹, who knew of no deluge, represented the sons of Noah as the ancestors of the Palestinian nations; J² takes a broader conception. Noah's sons are the ancestors of all nations: Shem represents Asia; Japheth, Europe; but Canaan will not answer for Africa. The native Egyptian word for Egypt, **χημ**, is introduced, and the triad readjusted according to the order of importance, Shem, Ham, Japheth. To make as little change as possible it is added that Ham is the father of Canaan.

7) Canaan, according to vs. 25, 26, is to be a "servant of servants" to his brethren; now Canaan's brethren are Cush, Mizraim, Put (10:6); but the following verses show that the "brethren" are Shem and Japheth, to whom, for their

paternal regard, this honor is given over the youngest. Noah's sons in this passage are therefore Shem, Japheth and Canaan.

8) Put all this together, regard the words **חם אבי** of 9:22 as the insertion of R, read vs. 20-27, and the whole passage is plain and unambiguous. Canaan is punished because Canaan committed the injury.

4. Gen. 11:1-9 was fully considered above pp. 56, 57; the considerations need not be repeated.

Remarks.—1. It is to be kept in mind that (a) the general question of the analysis is not concerned in this more minute analysis of the J-elements, except in so far as it is necessary, when once the work has been undertaken, to bring it to a satisfactory conclusion; (b) it is in reference to the origin and relation of these separate elements that critics differ from each other, and not in reference to either the portions to be assigned J as a whole, or the particular passages which are recognized as distinct from each other.

2. Wellhausen, Bud., Kuen. and Kitt. practically agree in reference to J¹, as follows :

1) *As to amount.*

(1) Chs. 2:4b-3:24, the story of Eden, the fall, the driving forth.*

(2) Ch. 4:1,2bb,16b-24, a seven-linked genealogy dividing with Lamech, the seventh, into three, viz. Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal, who (a) are the ancestors of the race, viewed from the stand-point of occupation or mode of life, (b) correspond to the Shem, Ham and Japheth of J².

(3) 6:1-4 + 10:9, the story of the origin of the Nephilim† (cf. Num. 13:33).

(4) (5:29) 9:20-27 (exc. **חם אבי** in v. 22 = R), Noah, the husbandman, who discovers the vine and takes away the curse; his drunkenness; his prophetic song of the Palestinian nations‡ (Israel, Phœnicia and Canaan).

(5) 11:1-9, the confusion of tongues and dispersion from Babel.

(6) The matter, now lost, originally underlying 10:21,25; 11:10-26, a second seven-linked genealogy, beginning with Shem, and ending with Terah, father of Abram, Nahor and Haran.

(7) 11:28-30 (worked over); 12:1-3. Details concerning Abram's family and migration.

2) *As to relation with J²*: This first history was enlarged by J²‡ who (1) adopted the Mesopotamian story of Hasisadra and the flood; (2) borrowed from J¹ the name Noah (5:29); (3) changed J¹'s genealogical table by inserting the names "Seth" and "Enosh," and altering slightly the other names, thus securing the

* The arguments for regarding this section as J¹ are much less satisfactory than those urged for the other passages, and so have not been touched upon above.

† There is here a slight variation of opinion, cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. IV., p. 235.

‡ According to Budde 5) preceded 4).

§ Budde makes J² an independent history, (1) whence P obtained material for ch. 1, (2) traces of which remain in 2:9ba,10-15; 3:22-24), (3) united with J¹ by another writer who was author of 4:2-16a.

number *ten* which made the genealogy correspond to that of Hasisadra; (4) connected his new table with J¹ by means of 4:25,26; added 9:18,19; 10:8-19 (in part), 21 (in part), 25-30, a table of nations, derived from Shem, Ham (substituted for Canaan in J¹) and Japheth; (6) adopts the genealogy of Abram from J¹.

3. Dillmann* separates the same passages, with, however, some slight variations: (1) ch. 2:4b-3:24 is J² (as we have designated it) except 3:20 and 2:10-15 (14); (2) 4:17-24 is J², but based entirely upon an earlier source (Dillmann, E), (4:1-16 being misplaced); (3) 6:1-4 is from an earlier source; (4) 9:20-27 from a special source to be followed by 9:18,19, while 10:9,24 and perhaps 14 are by R; (5) 11:1-9, originally in a connection which did not include a knowledge of the deluge, but adopted by J and now in a true sense J's.

VII. A General Résumé of the Ground Covered.

We may now consider, upon the basis of the entire material, the state of the case. What are the facts and the considerations?

I. Language.—If we, provisionally, divide chs. 1:1-12:5 into two portions, the division being based upon a difference of style (strongly marked), a difference of statement in the handling of practically the same material, a difference of theological conception, does this division find any support in the linguistic phenomena presented?

Let us consider the facts as obtained from an examination of the chapters:—

1)	The total vocabulary of the section is.....	485	words.
2)	Of the 485, those used by P alone number.....	118	"
3)	" " " " J "	246	"
4)	" " P's total usage is therefore	239	"
5)	" " J's " "	367	"
6)	" " P and J use in common	121	"
7)	The total occurrence of words in the section is.....	3727	"
8)	Of the 3727 P has.....	1858	"
9)	" " J "	1762	"
10)	" " R "	107	"
11)	P uses 239 words in 1858 forms, each word.....	7.77	times.
12)	J uses 367 words in 1762 forms, "	4.8	"
13)	P uses 239 words in about 150 verses, for each verse....	1.58	new words.
14)	J uses 367 words in about 140 verses, for each verse ...	2.62	"

* So also. essentially. Kautzsch and Socin.

- 15) Of the 118 words used by P alone, those fairly characteristic number 56*
- 16) Of the 246 words used by J alone, those fairly characteristic number 104†
- That is, in Genesis 1-12.

Remarks.—1. As has before been said, the argument from language possesses the least weight. It is only when connected with the others that its real influence is exerted. It cannot be accidental that, with a change of style, matter and theology, there is also a change of language.

2. The fact that P uses only 239 words in 150 verses, and uses them in 1858 forms is in striking contrast with J's usage of 367 words in 140 verses, used only in 1762 forms. The additional fact that P has only 1.58 new words for each verse, while J has 2.62, accords well with P's rigid, stereotyped, verbose and repetitious style, as over against J's free and picturesque style.

3. In the consideration of this point, it must be remembered that we are not dealing with a modern language, nor even with an ancient language like Latin or Greek; but with a language remarkable for its inflexibility. When it is appreciated that writings acknowledged to be a thousand years apart present few more differences than are sometimes found in the work of one man in our times, these peculiarities, insignificant as they may appear, are nevertheless very noteworthy.

2. *Style.*—If we make a rough division of 1:1-12:5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence, say, of twenty or twenty-five characteristic words, upon

* (1) אכלה; (2) אלהים; (3) אני הנני; (4) אתה וגו'; (5) ב (dist.); (6) בנניהם; (7) בני יפת; (8) הוליד; (9) בראשית; (10) גבר; (11) גוע; (12) גמר; (13) דמות; (14) ררות; (15) הבריל; (16) הוליד; (17) חית הארץ; (18) הקים ברית; (19) התהלך; (20) זכר; (21) חיה (wild beast); (22) חית הארץ; (23) מורא; (24) מאד; (25) למשמחותיהם; (26) כבש; (27) כפר; (28) כל-בשר; (29) עץ (= self-same); (30) עץ; (31) פרו ורבו; (32) מין; (33) מלאכה; (34) משחית; (35) נקבה; (36) סגר; (37) צלם; (38) קרש; (39) קומה; (40) רוח; (41) צוה אתו; (42) צלם; (43) קרש; (44) קומה; (45) רוח; (46) רכוש; (47) רכש; (48) רמש; (49) רקיע; (50) שבת; (51) שרץ (vb.); (52) שרץ (noun); (53) תהום; (54) תנין; (55) תמים; (56) תולדות.

† (1) אהל; (2) איה; (3) איש ואשתו; (4) איש אל רעהו; (5) אל לבו; (6) אנכי; (7) אף; (8) ארר; (9) גרש; (10) גם הוא; (11) גרל; (12) גבור; (13) בקעה; (14) בעבור; (15) בני אלהים; (16) בחוץ; (17) הפעם; (18) הוא אבי; (19) האוין; (20) הארמה; (21) הארם (oom. noun); (22) הרבה ארכה; (23) חם; (24) חלל; (25) חלון; (26) חול; (27) חבורה; (28) חבא; (29) חרה; (30) חרף; (31) חמר; (32) חמר; (33) חמר; (34) חרה; (35) חרף; (36) טהור; (37) טוב (phys.); (38) ידע (pec. sense); (39) ירב; (40) ירהו; (41) ילד (beget, in Qāl); (42) ילד; (43) יסף; (44) יצר; (45) יצר; (46) יקום; (47) כח; (48) מונח; (49) מונח; (50) מונח; (51) מונח; (52) מונח; (53) מונח; (54) מונח; (55) מונח; (56) מונח; (57) מונח; (58) מונח; (59) מונח; (60) מונח; (61) מונח; (62) מונח; (63) מונח; (64) מונח; (65) מונח; (66) מונח; (67) מונח; (68) מונח; (69) מונח; (70) מונח; (71) מונח; (72) מונח; (73) מונח; (74) מונח; (75) מונח; (76) מונח; (77) מונח; (78) מונח; (79) מונח; (80) מונח; (81) מונח; (82) מונח; (83) מונח; (84) מונח; (85) מונח; (86) מונח; (87) מונח; (88) מונח; (89) מונח; (90) מונח; (91) מונח; (92) מונח; (93) מונח; (94) מונח; (95) מונח; (96) מונח; (97) מונח; (98) מונח; (99) מונח; (100) מונח; (101) מונח; (102) מונח; (103) מונח; (104) מונח.

what seems to be a double treatment of the same subject, and a different conception of God, his relation to man, and man's relation to him, do we note in the division thus made any differences of style?

1) One part is found everywhere to be (a) systematic in the arrangement of material; (b) chronological and statistical, not only in the character but also in the presentation of the material selected; (c) minute, precise, scientific; (d) rigid, stereotyped, condensed, in the mode of conception; but (e) verbose and repetitious in the form of expression; (f) generic, rather than individual.

2) The second part is found everywhere to be (a) free and flowing, without sharp distinctions or classification; (b) marked by the presence of stories and traditions, but lacking all numbers and dates except those of a most general character; (c) picturesque and poetical both in conception and expression, introducing frequently pieces of a poetic character; (d) highly anthropomorphic in all representations of God; (e) prophetic, predictive, didactic; (f) individual rather than generic.

Remark.—Can it be a mere coincidence that those same portions which have a given vocabulary, *always* have the same characteristics of style? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is so close a connection between the vocabulary of each of these writers and his style? No one would for a moment think of combining the vocabulary of one with the style of the other. Such a combination would at once be felt to be incongruous.

3. *Material.*—If we make a rough division of 1:1–12:5 into two parts, basing it upon the occurrence of characteristic words, upon differences of style, and upon differences in theological conception, what do we find as to the material of these divisions?

1) *A duplication of the same material:* (a) In one division (1) an account of creation; (2) a genealogical table of ten generations to Noah; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) covenant and promise never to inflict a similar punishment; (7) a table of nations; (8) another genealogical table, to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

(b) In the second division, (1) an account of creation, with a story of the fall and expulsion from Eden; (2) a genealogical table of seven generations (with practically the same names as in the other division), together with the story of Cain and Abel; (3) a statement of the world's wickedness, with the story of the sons of God and daughters of men; (4) a great flood sent as a punishment for this wickedness; (5) the deliverance of one family and of representatives of all kinds of beasts; (6) sacrifice and promise not to repeat the punishment; (7) a table of nations, with a story of Noah's drunkenness and Canaan's curse; (8) traces of a genealogical table to Abram; (9) the family and migration of Abram.

2) *Differences, discrepancies and contradictions* of such a character as absolutely to forbid the supposition that they have come from one hand (space need not be taken to repeat these).

Remarks.—1. It is said: If there are so many discrepancies, and contradictions as to make it impossible to conceive of the work as the labor of one author, how is it possible to explain it as the work of a Redactor? Will an editor be any more likely than an author to combine contradictory matter in one piece? This question may be answered by noting (1) that an editor has done just this thing in Samuel (e. g. the different and even contradictory stories of (1) the desire of the people for a king; (2) the appointment of Saul as king; (3) the introduction of David at court), and elsewhere; (2) that much of the roughness of the patchwork was covered up by the insertions of the Redactor; (3) that in those days among all nations, and especially among the Semitic nations, there was an utter lack of that precision and scientific disposition characteristic of the present.

2. Can it be a mere coincidence that, in one description of a given event, there should be found one vocabulary, and one style of speech, while in another description of this same event, the style and language are different? Furthermore, is it not strange that there is such a harmony, as has been found, in the language, style and material of each division. Would any one think of putting P's material into J's language and style?

3. But is not this, in itself, a consideration in favor of unity of authorship? Every writer changes his style and language in treating of different subjects. Yet (1) does the same author use two vocabularies, and two kinds of style in successive chapters? Does he write one paragraph in a chapter with one set of words and in one style, a second paragraph with another set of words and in another style? Does he write one verse, or half-verse, in one way, and the following verse, or half-verse, in another? Would he keep up this sort of thing verse after verse, chapter after chapter, through several volumes? (2) Does the same writer often tell a story, or furnish a list of names, or describe an event in one vocabulary and with one style, and then tell the same story, or furnish the same list of events, or describe the same event with another set of words and in another style? (3) Does the same author repeat a story or a list, or a description, immediately after having first given it, and in the repeated form furnish matter so different and contradictory that for thousands of years men have believed the second statement in every case to be not a second account of the same thing, but an account of a second and different thing?

4. *Theology.*—If we separate 1:1–12:5 into two divisions on the basis of characteristic words and phrases, style, similarity and at the same time difference of material, we find that each division is marked also by a different conception of God (accompanied by the use of a different word*), of man's relations to God, of

* The exceptions are (1) the Elohim in chs. 2, 3, and (2) the few cases in which the Redactor has used Yahweh for Elohim.

the proper modes of worship, of God's action in history. These differences may be briefly summed up :

1) In one division we find (a) a rigidly monotheistic spirit, no word or expression occurring which could possibly be interpreted otherwise ; (b) a lofty, dignified conception of God as powerful and benevolent ; (c) a magnifying and dignifying of the supernatural ; (d) man so far beneath his Creator as to give no occasion for any divine jealousy or alarm ; (e) a strict adherence to an idea of progressive revelation, which shows itself in the selection of a few great legal enactments set forth in a skeleton of history ; (f) a conscientious withholding from any reference to God as the Covenant-God (Yahweh), to sacrifice, altars, clean and unclean, or ceremonial institutions of any kind.

2) In the other we find (a) a spirit which can scarcely be called monotheistic in the strictest sense ; (b) a representation of God as a supernatural being, whose rights are threatened by man's presumption, who "breathes," "walks," "comes down from heaven," etc., etc. ; (c) a dispensing, so far as possible, with divine aid, the heroes doing what seems the natural thing to do ; (d) man sustaining free and confidential relations with Yahweh and the heavenly beings ; (e) an utter indifference to the historical development of religious ideas ; (f) the existence from the beginning of a definite ceremonial system, including altars, sacrifice, distinction of clean and unclean, etc.

Remarks.—1. We thus see that, from whatever point of view the material of 1:1-12:5 is regarded, there are such differences as to demand the hypothesis of at least two writers. Each argument by itself, with the exception of that from language, would seem to be sufficient ; but when each argument strengthens and is strengthened by all the rest, the case becomes still more clear.

2. But let us look at it in another way : (1) We divide these chapters into two divisions simply on the basis of the use of the divine names, regarding as doubtful chs. 2, 3, which have the double phrase Yahweh Elohim ; (2) we go through each division and note the language ; we discover many words and phrases which occur in one but not in the other ; words and phrases, too, for which in the other division corresponding expressions are found ; it seems strange that wherever Elohim is used, it is accompanied by a certain series of words, and that it is just so in the use of Yahweh ; (3) we go through again, and we discover that one division has everywhere a certain style (rigid, stereotyped, etc.), and that the other has a style quite the opposite (free, flowing, poetical) ; (4) we examine the passages again, and this time discover that really each division takes up the same events, the same history (creation, deluge, etc.) ; (5) we take it up again and to our surprise notice that each division, in spite of the similarity of material, has its own peculiar and widely different conception of God, etc. What must be the result of this fivefold examination ? Is this the work of *one* man, or two ?

5. *The two J-elements*.—Having satisfied ourselves that there are two writers, viz., P and J (unless this is granted, it is not worth our while to consider the parts of J), we come to the consideration of J by itself. We find in J certain material (1) incongruous with certain other material, not fitting into it or with it, (2) wholly incompatible with the idea of a deluge story, (3) with a certain bond of connection running through all of it, (4) with a conception of Yahweh as in a state of alarm, sending upon them great afflictions, not so much in punishment for their sins, as to restrain them lest they become too strong. This matter, though similar in style and vocabulary, is so distinct in material that we at once declare it to have been the work of a third writer; in other words, that there are two J's. The relation of these two writers to each other may be doubtful, just as is that of P and J to each other; but this does not affect the question of their separate existence.

6. *The Redactor*.—Manifestly if there were two writers, and the work of both is now one piece, some one must have joined the two. In doing this he acted in accordance with the spirit of his times, as regulated by his purpose in making the combination. His spirit is far from being a critical one. He did not hesitate to use his material in any way which would best subserve his aim. He inserted and omitted; changed and arranged. He handled the sources used as freely as if he had been the author. The question of the time, etc., of this Redactor does not belong here.

VIII. Brief Consideration of Some General Questions.

It only remains to consider in the briefest possible way some of the general questions which suggest themselves to the student who has followed up to this point the presentation of the subject.

1. *The relation of this section (Gen. 1:1-12:5) to the remaining portion of the Hexateuch*.

1) It is a most important section. Its matter is of peculiar interest. One exaggerates but little in saying that Gen. 1-12 contains as many difficult points as does the whole remaining portion of the Hexateuch. It is the basis of all that follows. Whether the work of one or of three authors, it introduces us to sacred history, and it is an introduction the influence of which is felt in all parts of the body of the work.

2) It is a *representative* section. In a large sense, a decision of the question as it relates to this section, is a decision of the whole question. The two great writers, granting their existence, furnish us specimens, as characteristic of their work as any which follow. All the principles of criticism come up.

3) The section stands closely connected with a large amount of material gathered from Assyrian and Babylonian sources. There are Assyrian accounts of the creation, of the deluge, which so closely resemble the biblical account as to

employ even the same idiomatic expressions in their narration. What is the mutual relation of the Hebrew and Assyrian accounts? Does the existence of the Assyrian accounts go to prove or disprove the theory of double or triple authorship?

4) Two of the four writers claimed to be found in the Hexateuch, viz., E, who furnishes a history of Israel running side by side with that of J after Gen. 20, and D, to whom is assigned the bulk of Deuteronomy, do not appear in this section. Dillmann, as has been noticed, identifies J¹ with E.

5) Certain kinds of material, especially the legislative element, which is the great element, have not yet presented themselves. This shows how small a proportion of the subject, after all, we have yet touched. The argument from legislation, a division of the argument from material, is, of all arguments, the most complicated, and yet the most conclusive (from whichever side viewed).

6) It is, therefore, in place to say: (1) If the facts and considerations seem to be clear and conclusive in favor of a triple authorship, remember that the theory must stand the test of application to the remaining books. (2) If the facts do not seem to justify this theory, remember that there is much new material, that there are new forms of the old arguments which yet deserve study.

*2. Difficulties raised by an acceptance of the analysis of these chapters.**

The following difficulties will arise in the mind of the student; it is only proper to face them:

1) If there is an analysis, much that is said in dictionaries and books on synonyms is valueless, inasmuch as two words which have heretofore been regarded and interpreted as expressions of different thought on the part of one author, and therefore as very significant, turn out to be merely the variant expressions of the same thought on the part of two authors.

2) If there is an analysis, interpretations based upon the sudden change of style, supposing it all to be the work of one author (e. g., from a dead, rigid style to a living, vigorous style, indicative of force, or characteristic of an eye-witness), must now be dropped, since this is merely an individual characteristic.

3) If there is an analysis, the sacred record can no longer be claimed to present a perfectly accurate account of these early times; for conflicting accounts stand side by side; changes have been arbitrarily introduced into the text; insertions and omissions have been made; the material cannot be called in a very strict sense historical.

4) If there is an analysis, there are two very different, though perhaps not contradictory, conceptions of God, one of which seems to border closely on polytheism. How is it possible for so low (this is the proper term) an idea of God to have been incorporated in the Sacred Scripture?

* It will be necessary, perhaps, to treat this from a somewhat broader point of view than that implied in this statement. I do not purpose, here, to answer these difficulties.

5) If there is an analysis, one is at a loss really to know whether sacrifices, altars, distinction of clean and unclean, the name of Yahweh, etc., existed from the earliest times or not. One writer represents all these things as in existence; the other does not. Both certainly cannot be right.

6) If there is an analysis, even these chapters furnish enough to show that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch; for if Gen. 1-12 was written long after Moses' death, it is presumable that the other portions of the Hexateuch which follow and connect with these chapters belong also to a later date.

7) If there is an analysis, and Moses did not write the Pentateuch, the New Testament authorities, among others Jesus himself, who seem to say that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or at any rate to imply this, either must have been ignorant of the facts in the case, or knowing them, must have (1) consciously taught falsely, or (2) accommodated themselves to the literary suppositions of their day. Each of these possibilities is attended with difficulties.

8) If there is an analysis, it is probable that other Old Testament books will be found to have been put together in the same way; e. g., Samuel, Kings. The discourses of the prophets, e. g., Isaiah, Zechariah, may, likewise, be found to have been thrown together without much regard to time or order by later editors. The same lack of accuracy, the same proleptic method of handling material will be found to characterize all the O. T. so-called historical and prophetic writings.

9) If all this is true, the character of the Old Testament material, whether viewed (a) from an archæological, (b) from an historical, and especially (c) from a religious point of view, must be estimated somewhat differently from the method commonly in vogue. If it is composed of different stories of the same event, joined together by an editor who did not have insight sufficient to enable him to see that he was all the time committing grave blunders, and yet felt no hesitation in altering the originals with which he was working, it is not historical in the ordinary sense of that term.

3. Difficulties relieved by an acceptance of the analysis.

While in the minds of some difficulties will arise; in the minds of others who have long been troubled, certain difficulties will be relieved. It must be noted, however, that while these twelve chapters alone suggest nearly all the difficulties which the Hexateuch as a whole raises, a study of the Hexateuch is needed to reach conclusions which will relieve all the difficulties that have been felt by students in relation to this particular division of biblical material.

1) The material having come from two or three different writers, it is easy to understand why in this chapter a certain word or phrase (e. g., **אלהים**, **ברא**, **זכר ונקבה**) was employed, while the following chapter in the same connection and in expressing the same thought used an entirely different word (e. g., **עשה**, **איש ואשתו**, **יהוה**). It is true, the commentators have explained all this; but

as a matter of fact their explanations occasion more trouble than did the original difficulty.

2) The material having come from two or three different writers, these sudden and inexplicable changes of style, in successive chapters, in the middle of a chapter, and even in the middle of a verse, become very clear.

3) There being different writers, the small inaccuracies, which could hardly be accounted for if one writer was the author of the whole, now have an explanation. It is not worth while to deny the existence of these inaccuracies; only ignorance of what constitutes an inaccuracy, or a perverse prejudice will fail to detect them. It is only natural that in material collected from different sources, handled by various Redactors, such should have arisen.

4) There being two or more writers, it is easy to understand how there have come down to us, side by side, two accounts of creation, two genealogical tables, two stories of the deluge, two accounts of the peopling of the earth, etc., etc. While it would be inconceivable that one man should duplicate his own material in such a way, taking pains to change his vocabulary, style, theology, and even the material itself, there is no difficulty in explaining the material as written originally by different men. The harmonizing absolutely required, and as absolutely unattainable if one writer was understood to have written all, is no longer even necessary if there are two. Besides, we have now two different accounts of the same event, in other words, double testimony; and although this testimony is not always consistent, such, under all the circumstances, could scarcely be expected. Do we expect of the early times a perfect morality? or a morality judged by the standard of our times? Then why expect a perfect historiography?

5) There being two or more writers, the different theological conceptions which are so evident in these chapters receive explanation. It is clear that the Israelites, from the beginning, did not have the New Testament theological conceptions, as most commentators have endeavored to show. Just as there was a marked imperfection in their ideas of morality, an imperfection which could only be removed by degrees, so their ideas of God, though communicated to them from heaven itself, were imperfect, far short of what they afterwards attained, far different from the ideas taught in the New Testament. They could not comprehend the real truth. They were children in religious faith, and even God himself must deal with them as such and not as men. This removes the many "moral" difficulties of the Old Testament. If these people knew God as we know him, if their ideas of him were such as we to-day entertain, how could they have committed such sins as those with which they are so frequently charged? How could they so frequently have fallen into idolatry? Their shortcomings as a nation and as individuals are better appreciated when once we realize that they lived not in the splendor of New Testament Christianity, but at the breaking dawn of Old Testament monotheism. Whatever may be said as to the relative ages of the theo-

logical conceptions of P and J, the two, though apparently inconsistent, present God in aspects which were, are, and always will be true.

6) There being two or more writers in the Pentateuch, the method of composition being therefore compilation, we have harmony as to method between this portion of Sacred Scripture and all other portions (e. g., Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and even the Gospels of the N. T.). It is true that compilation is to-day regarded as the lowest order of composition. The mere compiler is not treated as an author. It would seem to injure the character of these books, if they are declared to be compilations. Still, even the most conservative scholars have long recognized the existence of various documents (in an undigested form) in these and other books. Now if this was the method employed as far down as New Testament times, it is difficult to believe that a higher method was employed so far back as the time in which the Pentateuch is asserted to have had its origin. We must apply the same principle here as elsewhere. We do not expect to find at this early period the highest standards of morality, or the highest conceptions of God. Why then should we look for the highest form of literary composition? We know that it was the child-age. To find a far more perfect form of composition than existed when the nation had become civilized and cultured is inconceivable. A great difficulty is therefore removed by this representation.

In closing this presentation I desire to refer to two points :

1) An estimate of the value of the Scripture material in general, or of Genesis 1-12 in particular, from the stand-point of the analysis,—that is, a statement indicating the opinion which one who accepts the analysis may entertain concerning the character of this material,—is reserved for the writer's third paper (October, 1889), in which the last portions of Genesis will be treated.

2) The writer has endeavored to present not only the facts and considerations in favor of an analysis, but also the spirit of that analysis; the two are inseparable. Everything has been looked at from the point of view of an analyst. The delicate nature of the undertaking will be appreciated by all. In any effort to present, *without reference to one's own personal opinions*, the views of others, there is danger (1) that the presentation may be one unfair to the parties represented, or (2) that the writer may seem to have given his own position rather than the position of those for whom he speaks. So far as concerns the first difficulty, he freely acknowledges the short-comings of the paper. It was a question of selection and arrangement. Much necessarily had to be omitted. Points demanding a page could receive only a line. It is believed, however, that, upon the whole, a correct idea has been given of the critical views so far as they relate to these chapters. In justification of the particular method employed, he need only repeat what has been said before, that the treatment is intended not for specialists but for those who desire to enter upon an investigation of the subject for the first time.

Touching the second difficulty, it should be remembered that, after all, it is not a question of opinion, but of fact. It matters not what any particular critic may think or say. It is the duty of every man who studies this question to take up one by one the points suggested, and to decide for himself whether or not they are true. It is certainly possible to draw a line between the personal advocacy of a given position, and a merely professional presentation of that position; and yet it is equally possible for those who are so inclined, to fail to see the line, however clearly it may have been drawn.

ADDENDUM.

The reader is requested to note the following addendum after the paragraph numbered 6 on p. 48:

6b. The two stories of the Deluge may be summarized as follows:

P's account: Noah in his time was a most pious man; all flesh was corrupt. God reveals to Noah that he will destroy the earth by a flood, and commands him to build an ark in which he shall take his wife, his three sons, their wives, a pair of every kind of animals in order to preserve life upon the earth. In Noah's 600th year the deluge comes, in part from the subterranean depths, in part from the windows of heaven. He enters the ark with his family and the animals. The water increases; the ark swims; it reaches a height of 15 cubits above the highest mountains; everything upon the land perishes; for 150 days the water increases. Then the subterranean sources are restrained, the windows of heaven are closed, and after the 150 days the water begins to subside. On the 17th of the 7th month, the ark rests upon the mountains of Ararat. On the 1st of the 10th month the tops of the mountains are seen. In the 601st year, 1st month, 1st day of the month, the water has subsided; on the 27th of the 2d month the earth is dry. Noah leaves the ark. God blesses Noah (cf. 1:28), appoints him lord over the beasts of the earth, and authorizes him to eat flesh; but forbids the eating of blood, and warns against the slaying of men. God makes a covenant, promises that there shall not be another deluge, and gives the rainbow as the sign of the covenant. The covenant is the *goal* of the whole story.

J's account: [The announcement to Noah of a deluge, of a command to build the ark is omitted.] Yahweh calls Noah and his family to enter the ark, together with animals, the clean by sevens, the unclean by twos, because within seven days he will bring a forty-day rain upon the earth to destroy all life; Noah obeys. After seven days, the rain begins; it falls forty days and forty nights. Yahweh closes up Noah in the ark. In the forty days the ark rises above the earth. All living beings except Noah perish. Then the rain stops; Noah opens the window of the ark and sends a bird to ascertain the condition of the water, first a raven, then a dove, and seven days later the dove again, who this time brings an olive leaf; then, after another seven days, the dove is sent but does not return. Then he takes off the covering of the ark and finds that the earth is dry. [The statement concerning the departure from the ark is also omitted.] Having left the ark, he builds an altar, offers of the clean animals and fowls an offering to Yahweh, who accepts it and declares that, in view of the fact that man's heart is evil from his youth, he will not again interfere with nature's order and laws.

BABYLONIAN LETTER.—THE JOSEPH SHEMTOB COLLECTION OF BABYLONIAN ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH. D.,

Now at Baghdad, Turkey.

The above, so-called, *Joseph Shemtob* collection of antiquities was purchased on July 21, 1888, for the University of Pennsylvania. The most important tablets—about 175 in number—have been numbered, catalogued and packed in glass-top cases. The whole collection has been shipped direct to Philadelphia, and it is hoped that it will arrive on or before October 15th.

Speaking generally, this lot of tablets is a most valuable one. It contains pieces of almost every description, e. g. cylinders, cone, mortar, bricks, land-grant, contracts, case-tablet, astronomical, astrological, omen, liturgical, letter, practice tablets, etc., etc. Again, while almost all of the tablets are of an exceedingly early date, there are several of a correspondingly late date.

These tablets have been numbered after the method used by the British Museum, viz., J. S. 7-21-88-1 = Joseph Shemtob, July 21, 1888, No. 1, etc. A short description of a few of the most important may be of interest.

J. S. 7-21-88-1. A large barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar. This cylinder is the largest and most perfect one in existence and contains some additional facts not to be found on any published, or unpublished, cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar. It is in a perfect state of preservation. Length, 26 cms.; circumference at top, 45 cms.; at base, 47 cms., and in middle, 55 cms. Compare photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-2. A large alabaster vase, cracked lengthwise through the middle. It is the largest and finest specimen yet found. It is inscribed with a quadrilingual inscription, containing the words, "Xerxes, the great king." Height, 25 cms.; circumference at top, 40 cms., and at base, 73 cms. This vase has been examined by Sayce, Pinches, Strassmaier, Brünnow, and others, and there is no doubt that it is genuine. It has been mended, in a most satisfactory way, by Mr. Ready, Jr., of the British Museum. Compare photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-3. A Hammurabi cone, containing two columns of 44 and 36 lines respectively. The cone proper is 12 cms. high and 28.7 cms. in circumference. Col. I. is almost perfectly preserved. Col. II. is badly broken, some parts

being entirely lost. For a fuller account of this most interesting cone, see a future number of *HEBRAICA*. Compare also photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-4. A mortar of Burnaburiaš, 13-14 cms. high and 40.5 cms. in circumference. This mortar contains a non-Semitic inscription, in archaic characters, of 27 lines—one of which is double—with rather a deep groove between each line. The inscription is very well preserved, only one or two places being illegible. The whole space, however, not occupied by the inscription is broken out to a depth of 6-7 cms. Inside depth of mortar is 9.5 cms. It is of solid stone. Some are inclined to regard this mortar as a gate socket. Cf. photograph.

J. S. 7-21-88-6. An Esarhaddon brick, containing an inscription of 11 lines, four of which are double. This brick is perfectly preserved, 17 cms. long; 7.5 cms. wide, and 6.5 thick.

J. S. 7-21-88-7. A large, broken brick of Nebuchadnezzar, containing 15-16 lines of inscription. The upper corner of the right side is broken off. Inscription, so far as it is preserved, is quite legible. 22 cms. long; 19.3 wide, and 8.5 thick.

J. S. 7-21-88-8. Large astrological tablet of yellowish clay, dated in the month Šebatu of the seventh year of Nabopolassar. Extreme length, 15.5 cms.; width, 12.5 cms., and extreme thickness, 3 cms. The lower end of the obverse and upper end of the reverse are broken away. The characters are extremely small, but very legible. With the exception of one paragraph, deep grooves separate the lines. The tablet was originally much longer, as can be seen from the graduated thickness. It has been cleaned and repaired by Mr. Ready.

J. S. 7-21-88-9. Astronomical tablet of black, reddish, burnt clay. Obverse in paragraphs and reverse in four columns. Characters on obverse rather difficult and illegible. On reverse much clearer and plainer. Original size of tablet was, perhaps, 2 or 2½ times its present size. Length, 9.5 cms.; width, 12.6 cms., and extreme thickness, 2 cms. This tablet is very important. It contains astronomical and mathematical calculations of the rising and setting of the planets, mathematical calculations of the new and full moon for the years 154, 142, 155 and 115 of the Arsacide era. Dated in the year 161 of the same era. Father Strassmaier has copied this tablet and he will give his copy with notes in a future number of *HEBRAICA*.

J. S. 7-21-88-10. A reddish-gray contract tablet dated on the 14th of Ululu II., in the fifth year of Kandalanu. This tablet is perfectly preserved and it is written in very legible characters.

J. S. 7-21-88-11. Fine contract, with perfect seals on all sides—seven in number—almost perfectly preserved. It is dated on the 18th of Šebatu, in the sixth year of Darius (Da-ri-ia-uš), “king of Babylon, king of countries.” Length, 6.3 cms.; width, 8.2 cms.; thickness, 2 cms. The characters are exceedingly clear and the seals very valuable.

J. S. 7-21-88-12. Contract tablet, perfectly preserved, dated on the fifth of Tašritu, in the first year of Artaxerxes (Ar-tak-šad-su).

J. S. 7-21-88-13. Contract tablet, in good state of preservation, dated on the twenty-third of Nisanu, in the first year of Xerxes (Aḫ-ši-ka-ar-ši).

Nos. 19 and 20 are Hammurabi tablets; Nos. 22-25 are fragments of barrel cylinders; Nos. 41, 42 and 43 are Abêšû' tablets—a new king, tablets of whose reign have not been found as yet in any of the collections belonging to the British Museum; No. 63, contract of Neriglassar; No. 95 is an architectural tablet in non-Semitic; 142 is archaic fragment of Abêšû'.

Almost all of the remaining contract, case, tithe, memorandum, etc., tablets belong to Ammi-satana, Ammi-zaduga, Samsu-satana, Samsu-iluna, etc.

In the next number of *HEBRAICA*, I hope to give a short account of the so-called *Khabaza* collection, purchased from Mr. Joseph Shemtob, for the University of Pennsylvania, on August 15, 1888.

London, Sept. 10, 1888.

SEMITIC STUDIES IN AMERICA.

ADDRESSES MADE AT A RECEPTION TENDERED BY DR. WILLIAM PEPPER,
PROVOST OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 31, 1888.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF SEMITIC STUDIES IN THIS COUNTRY.¹

The addresses here published were delivered at a reception tendered by Dr. William Pepper, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, to the members of the American Oriental Association during the recent fall session of the society. It being the first time that the Oriental Association was to convene in Philadelphia, the local committee of arrangements deemed the occasion which marked the formal recognition of the efforts made of recent years by the University of Pennsylvania to further Oriental and more particularly Semitic studies and research, a fit one for the discussion of such a topic as "The place of Semitic Languages in the University and the Theological Seminary." In response to the invitation extended to them, Dr. W. Hayes Ward, the vice-president of the association, Profs. Harper, of Yale University, and Brown, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, consented to speak on the subject. After these gentlemen had been heard, Dr. Pepper called upon a number of the many distinguished scholars present for further remarks, and in each case the response was as hearty as it was appropriate. The propriety, and we may add the importance, of giving the addresses made on this significant occasion a more permanent form by publication in such a medium as "HEBRAICA" will be universally recognized, and we have no doubt welcomed by all those having the advancement of higher studies in this country at heart. Apart from their intrinsic value, the most significant feature of these addresses is the tone of hopefulness which pervades them. The outlook for the future of Semitic studies is indeed promising. And it may not be considered inappropriate if, by way of an introduction to this publication, I attempt a rapid survey of the present status of the study in this country.

Semitic research is of recent growth in the United States. Ten years ago but little attention was paid to Semitic philology and Semitic literatures, with the single exception of Hebrew.² While the other great branch of Oriental philology, Sanskrit, had already secured for itself, in consequence of its close bearings on classical philology, that conspicuous place in the university curriculum which it merits, the provisions, even at our best institutions of learning, for Semitics were painfully inadequate. There were a few private scholars devoting themselves to the study, here and there was a chair for Semitic languages, generally filled by men whose specialty lay in an entirely different direction, perhaps one or two colleges which could boast of a small Semitic library; but that was all. Since this time a

¹ By Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania.

² For an interesting and valuable sketch of Hebrew studies in this country, see Prof. G. F. Moore's article in *Stade's Zeitschrift fuer alttest. Wiss.*, 1888, I., pp. 1-42.

momentous change has taken place. Along with that impetus given during the past decade to higher education in general, there has sprung up a fruitful and a rather remarkable interest in Semitic languages and their literatures.

We do not believe that we are going wrong in dating the new era from the advent of the late Prof. Murray to the chair of Semitic languages at the Johns Hopkins University. To this institution belongs the credit of having been the first to accord to the subject the same prominence as that given to Sanskrit. Prof. Murray's ministrations were unfortunately cut short by his untimely death; but the example of the Johns Hopkins in calling to its aid the services of a specialist, thoroughly trained for his task, was not lost upon the country. Prof. Murray himself was succeeded by Paul Haupt in 1883, whose reputation as one of the greatest of living Assyriologists had preceded him, while of the more prominent colleges, Harvard, Yale, the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia College have since fallen in line. Shortly before Prof. Haupt was called to Baltimore from the University of Göttingen, Dr. D. G. Lyon came to Cambridge, and with Prof. C. H. Toy now conducts a well-equipped Semitic department at that place. In 1885 the University of Pennsylvania appointed Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., lecturer on Semitic languages, and the following year strengthened its faculty by the addition of Drs. John P. Peters and H. V. Hilprecht. A year later Yale created a chair of Semitic languages and made a most auspicious choice in the selection of Prof. Wm. R. Harper to fill it, supplementing the appointment a few months later by the election of Dr. Robert F. Harper as instructor in Semitic languages. The same year a step in advance was taken by Columbia College. With Dr. Tracy Peck, previously appointed instructor in Semitic languages, there was associated Dr. Richard J. H. Gottheil as lecturer on Syriac language and literature; not long afterwards a chair for Rabbinical literature was established at that same institution, and Dr. Gottheil chosen to fill it. The growth of the Semitic department at the Johns Hopkins University was emphasized in 1887 by the election of Dr. Cyrus Adler as assistant to Prof. Haupt. Among other colleges and universities which make provision for Semitic studies, there are to be mentioned the University of Missouri, where the chair is filled by Dr. James S. Blackwell, the University of Wisconsin, where there is an instructor in Hebrew, the Cincinnati University, where Prof. Sproull, in addition to his duties as Professor of Latin, finds time apparently to fill a chair for Hebrew and Arabic, not to omit Wellesley, which has also its instructor in Hebrew. Crossing over into Canada, we have Prof. J. F. McCurdy, professor of Semitic languages at the McGill University, in Montreal, and Prof. Hirschfelder, for Hebrew language and literature, in University College, Toronto. A few years more will undoubtedly witness still further progress. The University of Michigan has, if I mistake not, made some temporary provision for instruction in Hebrew, and it is only a question of time when a regular Professor for Semitic languages will be added to the faculty of that flourishing institution. Cornell for some reason or other has not filled the chair for Oriental languages, made vacant about two years ago, but, it is safe to assume, will do so ere long. What position the newly founded universities, the Stanford and the Clark, will assume towards Semitic languages, is not yet known, but with the selection of men at their head imbued with a high ideal of what a university ought to be, it is not likely that this branch will be overlooked.

Turning to the theological seminaries, we find the prominent ones, with scarcely an exception, laying the very greatest stress, at present, upon good training

in general Semitic philology. At the Union Theological Seminary courses are provided extending over the entire range of Semitic languages, with such eminent specialists as Profs. Brown and Briggs in charge. The same is the case at Andover, where Profs. G. F. Moore and Taylor divide the subject between them. At the Divinity School in Philadelphia, Prof. Peters has been giving instruction in Assyrian for several years, Dr. J. A. Craig is similarly engaged at Lane Theological Seminary, Dr. Price, at the Baptist Seminary in Morgan Park, and Prof. Lansing has been doing good work for Arabic in the Seminary of the Reformed Dutch Church at New Brunswick, N. J. As for Hebrew alone, there is, as a matter of course not a single theological institution laying claim to any scholarship where this language is not being studied.¹ True, this was already the case at the beginning of the new era to which we have referred, but the method of instruction has materially changed in these institutions since that time. The critical appliances of modern scholarship have taken the place of the old unscientific methods. Philology, archaeology and history have been introduced as points of view from which Hebrew is to be regarded by the side of the former exclusively theological position.

Supplementing the work of the university and the seminary, there is in the third place to be mentioned the American Institute of Hebrew, one of the many creations of the indefatigable Prof. Harper, who has done more to further the study of Hebrew in particular and of Semitic languages in general than any other single person in the country. Established in 1880, the membership of the school in 1887 counted 611, spread over all parts of the United States. The Institute provides for instruction in the Cognate Semitic languages as well as Hebrew, and it is encouraging to learn that of the above number 18 availed themselves of the advantages offered. If it be borne in mind that only 19 were doing advanced work in Hebrew, the number making a study of general Semitic philology will be seen to be much larger than we had reason to expect. In addition to teaching Semitic languages by correspondence during the entire year, the Institute has opened Summer Schools of Hebrew at various places during the months of vacation. In these schools quite as much attention is paid to the other Semitic languages as to Hebrew. The attendance at these schools is increasing to a surprising degree from year to year, and their success is only another sign of the growing interest in the subject. The same is to be said of the classes at universities, which are steadily growing from year to year. Here we rest our hasty and imperfect sketch. Enough has been said to show the grounds upon which those who speak in the following pages build their hopes for the future. Much still remains to be done before America can be expected to enrich Semitic scholarship with contributions to rival in number and to equal in value those which pour in constantly upon us from the other side of the Atlantic. Thoroughly equipped libraries in *all* branches of Semitic philology and literature are necessary for this purpose, and above all *original* material in the shape of Hebrew, Arabic and Syriac manuscripts, cuneiform tablets and all manner of Oriental antiquities are necessary. Until we have *original* material we need look in vain for *original* scholarship. But all will come in time.

¹ The list of O. T. instructors in HEBRAICA, October, 1885, gives the names of over 125 Professors of Hebrew in Theological Seminaries.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.¹

Semitic philology is one of the very last studies to be taken up in this country. It is scarce a dozen years old. This may seem strange when we remember that Hebrew was a college study from the foundation of Harvard College, and for fifty years half a hundred professors have taught Hebrew in as many theological seminaries. But Hebrew was not studied as a language to be compared with other languages, but only exegetically, as a means of getting, or seeming to get, at the meaning of the Old Testament. It is true that in Moses Stuart we had, early in the century, a great scholar, who did more than any other man to introduce us to German erudition, but he left behind him no man that was his equal. With a very few distinguished exceptions, the Hebrew professor was not more than a fair translator, often not even that. We have laughed over the story of the Pennsylvania Dutch professor of Hebrew who spoke of it as the language which he had *siebenmal gelernt und siebenmal vergiesen*. When we pass beyond Hebrew nothing was known of any other Semitic language, except by a few very scholarly missionaries, like Dr. Van Dyck, the great Arabic scholar of Beirût, or Drs. Riggs and Schauffler, of Constantinople. I must not forget that Professor Murdoch, however, managed to translate the Syriac Peshitto into English, which was an unexampled feat. I do not remember that any one else, up to a few years ago, studied Arabic in this country, except Professor Salisbury, or was known to have learned Syriac, or that any Christian scholar had ever read any Talmudic.

This was very different from the case with Indo-Germanic studies, and the reason is not wholly obscure. Indo-Germanic philology became a science with the discovery of the Sanskrit, and our president, Professor Whitney, in his youth was attracted to the new study, and became the father of all such as read the Vedas. But Semitic philology could not easily be made a science, because no solvent like the Sanskrit had been found for its various tongues. Renan began a Comparative History of Semitic languages and dropped it at the end of the first volume. When I began the study of Hebrew I learned that the verb כָּפַר *kaphar* was connected with the English *cover*, although *cover* is from the French *couvrir*, which is from the Latin *coopere*, which is from *co* and *operio*, which is from *ob* and *pario*.

The decipherment of the Assyrian inscriptions gave us, as Dr. Hincks has truly said, a language which is to Semitic very much what Sanskrit is to Aryan tongues. It was not until our younger scholars began to study Assyrian that we may be said to have known anything in this country of Semitic philology. I have been a member of this Oriental Society for twenty years. I suppose, and it is only within the last ten years that I have seen this new growth. Allow me a little personal reminiscence.

It was the good fortune of having a father who loved the Hebrew language which turned my attention to the Semitic branches of Oriental studies. Under his tuition I began the study of languages with Hebrew. In the theological seminary, not needing instruction in Hebrew, when I wanted to read the Gospels in Syriac and to dabble a very little in the Mishna, I found no one who would have attempted to teach me. In 1868 I purchased the first part of Norris's Assyrian Dictionary, which had just appeared. Now, when every principal university and theological seminary in the country has its professor of Assyrian, it is difficult for

¹ By William Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D., Editor of *The Independent*.

me to conceive that twenty years ago there was not a single person in the country who had read an Assyrian text, even in a printed book. Indeed the earliest Assyrian type had but just come from the foundry. The French type had been cast for the Imperial Press ten years before, and the Germans had not yet begun either to print or to study Assyrian. A busy life not allowing me to give more than fragments of time to the study, and being unable to pursue the reading of texts, it has yet been to me a great pleasure to watch the growth of a strong school of American students of Assyrian and other Semitic languages. No sooner had Schrader and Delitzsch introduced the study of Assyrian among the strangely dilatory Germans than our own young men, who had begun to go in crowds to the German universities, took up the study with great eagerness. Harvard led the way in the person of Professor Lyon, and Johns Hopkins called the strongest of the younger German scholars to be the head of its Semitic department. Other institutions followed, until now there are in this country more men, I imagine, that offer to teach this language than in all Europe. May I venture to say to them that it is much to be hoped that they will not rest satisfied with doing over what European scholars have done, but will conquer new texts and open fresh fields of study. The new texts brought by the Wolfe expedition to the Metropolitan Museum ought to be eagerly seized by our young experts and immediately translated. Still greater treasures are to be hoped from the new expedition sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, whose first fruits we shall see here to-night. I very much regret that the field, vastly inferior, to be sure, to that in the British Museum, but still well worth study, offered by the tablets which have been for some years in this country, has not yet been entered. I do not remember that a single American text has yet been published by an American scholar. But that reproach will, I am sure, be very speedily wiped away.

Within even fewer years a small, but very active, school of Syriac students has arisen in the United States which has done admirably original work. I will not attempt to detail the new texts translated and published by our fellow members. Drs. Hall, Gottheil and Frothingham, but it is greatly to the credit of our society that they seek so enthusiastically new fields, and add to the world's knowledge of this important literature and of the history connected with it.

The study of Arabic, important as it is, and unusual as have been the advantages from its pursuit by Americans, has been even more neglected by us than that of Syriac. I think the story is true, and it is less than ten years old, that when a student at Harvard offered a thesis on an Arabic subject for his doctor's degree, that institution could not find a professor competent to judge of its quality, and it had to be sent to the sole and only Arabic teacher in the country, Professor Salisbury at Yale. The President of Harvard determined that such a thing should not occur again, and he inaugurated the Semitic department of the university by securing the services of Professor Toy. He now can count one or two younger followers in the study of Arabic, who have yet their spurs to win by original research.

It is the special advantage of Semitic study that it is well within the reach of a good scholar's hope to embrace comfortably the whole circle of Semitic languages. This cannot be hoped by the students of Aryan philology. But the Hebrew languages are little more than dialects. While it is true that Arabic, or Assyrian, or Syriac, or Talmudic, might any of them alone task the best powers of

a scholar, yet any one man of good parts can easily learn to talk Arabic freely, and can easily have read the whole Hebrew literature, considerable Talmudic, the principal Syriac texts, and can be fairly familiar with Assyrian. When we come to the minor branches that exist only in limited inscriptions, a good Hebrew scholar could read the whole extant Phenician literature in a week or two, the Moabite stone in an hour or two, and the Palmyrene in three or four days. For the student of the science of language this is a magnificent advantage. His material is not unwieldy. What American scholar will attempt this task, and give us the completion of what Renan began, and do for the Semitic languages what Bopp did for the Aryan? The wonderful progress of the last ten years greatly encourages me to believe that America will yet lead the world in this study. Our young scholars have already shown great zeal in following the lead of European guides. Will they, like our older Sanskrit students, and like our scholars in the natural sciences, geology, astronomy, botany, zoology, put themselves on a par with their teachers and seek for new discoveries? I believe that the reconnaissance of the Wolfe expedition, and the new, better equipped and manned expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, will prove a stimulus which will be felt in all departments of Semitic study.

The attractiveness of Semitic studies explains the great attention lately paid to them. The world's remaining problems in the history of nations and of religions are to be answered by the students of Semitic languages. There is a current in history and there are outflows and eddies. The swift Euphrates had its multitude of affluent canals which carried its waters to irrigate a limited territory; but he who would study its course might neglect these, and would follow the main, strong river from its mouth back to its source. The study of American languages, of the African languages (except the old Egyptian), of nearly all Turanian languages, of the Chinese and Japanese, or of the history or art of the peoples who spoke them, may be very interesting; but it is the pursuit only of the revolving eddy or of the canal soon exhausted. The great streams of fruitful, self-supplying and enlarging culture only possess supreme interest and importance and must be followed back to their source by those who would learn how man came to be what he is and to have what he possesses. What is the beginning of art? Greek history takes you back to Asia Minor, and from thence you must go back to a Semitic origin. What is the beginning of civilization? You must go back of Greece to Semitic Phenicia, and back of that, again, either to Egypt or to Semitic Babylonia. What is the beginning of religion? Already the classical religions, and those of India and China as well, are proved to be but eddies in the current. The real stream is nothing but Semitic; and it is Semitic studies that must answer the Mosaic problem, and that must explain the source and authority of those beliefs about the creation of the world, the deluge and the dispersion of man which we have inherited from those wonderful chapters of Genesis. I repeat my confidence that our new, young, enthusiastic school of Semitic scholars, which this last ten years has seen arising among us, will have the ambition and patience to contribute much to the solution of these problems.

SEMITIC STUDY IN THE UNIVERSITY.¹

The term "Semitic study" as ordinarily understood is apt to be taken in a narrow sense; while, as understood by specialists, it is a term almost incapable of limitation. Let us use it, neither in its very narrow, nor in its very broad sense; as including, on the one hand, the study of the grammar and lexicography both of individual languages and of the family; but on the other hand, the study of the literature of these different peoples and their history: the study of the growth and mutual relations of Semitic speech, but at the same time a study of the growth and mutual relations of Semitic thought, of Semitic civilizations. The field is too broad perhaps for one man to cover even superficially; and yet it is all one field; it is possible, of course, to divide into many divisions, still it forms in itself one great division.

The term "University" as ordinarily employed is even more indefinite than that of "Semitic study." There is in our country no standard by which to define it. It may be an institution with thousands of students, or with only tens; with a dozen great departments, or made up exclusively of a preparatory school. Here again, we must have an understanding. Perhaps it may be taken to include under-graduate work, and post-graduate work, the former that of the Junior and Senior academic years, the latter, work of a non-professional character. And now upon the topic of Semitic study in the University, we may take up very hurriedly two questions: (1) What has been done? (2) What can be done?

(1) *What has been done?*

(a) In years long gone by, Semitic study, or speaking more accurately, Hebrew study, constituted a part of the required college curriculum. We read with much relish of the great feats performed in those days. The severity of the labor, in many cases, and zeal with which it was pursued, alike interest and stimulate us. In those times when only ministers received an education, it was natural and proper that this subject should receive a large share of attention; and besides, there was less to be studied then than now. Science was almost unknown; modern languages altogether ignored. Latin, Greek and Hebrew reigned supreme. It is to be noted, however, that the Semitic study of this age was theological, not philological; that it was almost exclusively Hebrew study, and that too, unscientific.

(b) But when others than ministers began to study; when new subjects began to be introduced, there came a change. Hebrew study, meagre and unsatisfactory as it had been, dropped out. In a few institutions here and there, in all not ten, a pitifully small amount of work was being done, under the guidance of an instructor who, in most cases, knew only enough to keep ahead of his class. It is true that during this second period there were in several institutions lectures or recitations upon the Old Testament History and Literature. This, according to our definition, was Semitic study; but the work even when carried on was practically a *farce*, unattended unless compulsory; and when attended, valueless. From these two periods, however, we may pass to a *third*, to which we may assign the past ten or twelve years; and here a different condition of things con-

¹ By William R. Harper, Ph. D., Professor in Yale University.

fronts us :—Partly on account of the interest attaching to the revision of the Old Testament, partly on account of the strange and startling disclosures of German critics, partly also because of the wonderful value, from every point of view, of the treasures hidden in ancient ruins so recently brought to light, and still more recently beginning to be understood,—for all these reasons, and perhaps others, Semitic study in the University, as well as elsewhere, has been born again, born to a life far more vigorous than the old life, because more widely extended, more deeply rooted; and what do we see (I refer now *only* to our Universities)?

1) Classes for Hebrew study, larger and smaller, for academic students, in *all* the leading, and in a majority of the smaller institutions.

2) Classes in Hebrew for post-graduates.

3) Classes in Assyrian, consisting of ten, twenty, and even twenty-five,—larger than any found in German Universities.

4) Under-graduate and post-graduate classes in Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac and even Ethiopic.

5) Courses of lectures on Semitic topics, attended by scores and even hundreds.

6) Under-graduate classes in many colleges studying Semitic literatures, as they would study Roman and Greek literature.

7) Classes and bands of men, outside of college work, carrying on systematic and scientific courses of Semitic study.

We find the under-graduates engaged not only in study of Hebrew, but also in that of Assyrian and Arabic. Post-graduates, by scores, the whole or greater part of whose time is given to Semitic studies. University men of all classes and departments engaged in work which comes properly under the head of “Semitic study.”

(2) *What can be done?*

What has been done *can* be done, and more. Heré I may be compelled to repeat, in a measure, what has already been said; for in so far as “What has been done” continues to be “What can be done,” I have anticipated the present point.

To be sure the same work cannot be done in every institution, but after all there must be a general sameness.

1) *Hebrew*, at all events, can be taught. With a fair class the elements of the language should be mastered in a course of two hours a week running through a year, or four hours a week during half a year. The maturity and experience of the students who take up the subject, enable them to accomplish much more than would otherwise be possible. But there may also be a second course for members of the Senior Class, who perhaps have taken the first course during their Junior year. Here a host of subjects present themselves, selected chapters illustrating the literature of a special period; the exhaustive study of a single writer, or the consideration of a special topic. Meanwhile the grammar may be reviewed, the principles grasped more firmly, the vocabulary increased, the details of syntax examined. And such courses will be adapted to the wants of post-graduates as well as under-graduates.

2) *Assyrian* may be taken up; not with profit by all; but certainly to the advantage of those who have special aptitude for language and particular interest in Hebrew. In a two hours’ course extending through but a single year, should no

more time be found for it, the important phonograms and ideograms (say 300) can be learned, the principles of the grammar obtained, the vocabulary mastered and compared with that of the sister languages, the syllabaries analyzed, and some of the more interesting historical texts interpreted from the cuneiform. Experience has shown that Assyrian is far easier to grasp than Arabic. To be sure, what was impossible ten years ago has now been rendered possible by reason of the investigations which have been made during this period and which have been published. In a second course, more difficult material may be taken up, and even original work on the part of the student encouraged.

3) *Arabic* should not be forgotten in the overwhelming interest now centering in Assyriology. Here again under-graduates as well as post-graduates may be urged to take hold, and though little comparatively can be accomplished in this or any other subject in so short a time, a beginning can be made, and an interest can be aroused which, with proper guidance, will lead in later years to much that may prove valuable.

4) I shall not speak of Syriac, Aramaic, or Ethiopic, in one or more of which something may also be done; but special emphasis may be laid upon courses of lectures more or less technical covering Semitic literature, Semitic history, the growth and development of Semitic religious thought, Semitic civilization, and kindred topics. It is without doubt true, as has been shown by actual experiment, that many men, in all our institutions, engaged specially perhaps in another department, desire to have at least a general knowledge of the latest facts and theories in the Semitic department. There is no subject more attractive to the mind of a thoughtful man, whatever be his specialty, than that of Semitic archæology.

5) I have not mentioned philology as such, although this too furnishes an important field for university work. There is, then, much that can be done. Here, as everywhere, all things, speaking broadly, are possible, provided only that there be energy and enthusiasm. It is true that not all even of the better institutions, and here belong our state universities, have as yet made provision for Semitic work upon the scale here indicated. Too much must not be expected at once. Ten years have done much; the next ten will do more. There should be no flagging of the interest which has already arisen. It must not even be allowed to stand still. It must be more vigorously cultivated in the future than in the past, for three reasons:

1) Because of the long season of past neglect, to atone for which, and to compensate for which, a mighty effort will be necessary.

2) Because of the present necessity of the case, a necessity born of the peculiar and, may I add, providential circumstances of the present quarter-century, marked as it is by discoveries of so vital a character.

3) Because of the essential importance of the study itself, an importance now appreciated not only by those who make this study their profession, but as well by intelligent, broad-minded and broad-hearted men in every line of labor.

SEMITIC STUDY IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.¹

It is a matter of congratulation for students of theology that their professional studies connect themselves at so many points with the wide interests of general scholarship. All the clergymen present will bear me out in saying that professional life tends to movement in a somewhat narrow groove. This is not peculiar to the ministerial profession; it is the common danger of all specialists,—but we, every now and then, become particularly aware of it in our own case. Occasions like the present are therefore of great interest to us, because they set us at the point where our wheel of theological study gears into the intricate system of mental activities that constitutes what we, in the broadest sense, term scholarship. There is no clerical way of learning a language. There is no theological philology.

And, certainly, whoever may suppose himself at liberty to slight Semitic studies, the student of divinity is not free to do so. By far the greater part of the records which he esteems sacred, which are the chief postulate of his life-work and the most important source of the truths he is to expound, have come down to him in a Semitic dress. The obligation of scholarship rests upon him in an especial sense, to see to it that his acquaintance with this Oriental garb of the revelation he has to deal with makes the nearest possible approach to mastery. If he willfully neglects to make this effort, he is not simply foolish, he is recreant.

But mastery in this special field is not possible without a wider reach. The man who knows well Hebrew and the biblical Aramaic, knows, and must know, a great deal more. The Hebrew Grammar of the future, the Hebrew Lexicon of the future, will be produced by men whose range of familiar study embraces the cognate languages. They will probably be theologians, as those whose attainments in these lines we now respect, and whose works we now use, have been; to do their work as it should be done they must have some claim also to the title of Semitic philologist.

But there are other aspects of Semitic study which make it of special concern to the theological scholar. A very large proportion of those problems and tasks which lie in the pathway of Semitic philology are of such a nature that their solution and discharge are of the utmost importance to theological learning. Think a moment. Besides the questions of grammar and lexicography to which allusion has just been made, we have the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament, with its demand for the thorough study of the versions,—Syriac, Ethiopic, even Arabic,—not to forget the Targums; we have the Textual Criticism of the New Testament, with the same demand under somewhat different conditions; we have the question as to the origin of the Semitic family,—largely dependent on the phenomena of language; we have the involved and fascinating inquiries into the relation between the religious conceptions of the Hebrews and those of their brethren in the family, especially the Phenicians and the Babylonio-Assyrians,—inquiries which can be answered only by the aid of the literary monuments; we have the interweaving of the Hebrew history with that of the great empires of Western Asia; we have the rise of Jewish learning, pre-Christian and later; we have the early history of the Christian church, and the Syriac literature bearing upon

¹ By Francis Brown, Ph. D., D. D., Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

it; we have Mohammedanism and the Koran;—coming down no further, and not considering at all the practical uses of the newer Semitic dialects in intercourse with the modern Oriental, we have, in the hasty and by no means exhaustive catalogue just given an indication of the manifold ways in which Semitic learning is related to theological scholarship, and of the impossibility that theological seminaries should be indifferent to the advance of Semitic science.

It is undoubtedly true that the practical end which our theological seminaries must keep in view acts as a restriction upon the acquirement of vast, special knowledge. These seminaries have not, it may be admitted, produced many philologists. But it ought to be remembered that in no country is Semitic philology, according to the severe standard which recent achievements have set up, a really venerable science. If in this matter we are behind other countries, we are, after all, not so very far behind in point of years. And I feel impelled to say a word in behalf of those teachers of Hebrew in our theological schools who for some time were the only Semitic instructors we had, and who, in the face of the urgent, practical demands of the clerical profession, maintained their own zeal for at least the study of Hebrew, roused the enthusiasm of their pupils, laid the foundation, and helped to prepare the way for the broader, completer Semitic study of the present and still more of the generation to come.

I must ask your pardon, if I have seemed to forget that I am not addressing theological students. I have felt anxious to emphasize our common interests as Orientalists, for which, I think, we may all be grateful. But before I sit down, I beg leave to touch upon one very obvious, and, from the scholar's stand-point, at least, a very practical matter.

It will perhaps be objected, as it has been, that as a matter of fact our theological seminaries are not able to furnish their students with anything but a rudimentary Semitic equipment,—that philology cannot look with any great hope to these institutions. The main purpose of the divinity schools, and their comparatively short term of study, must largely account for the considerable measure of truth there is in this objection. But the point I now wish to make is, that you cannot fairly expect the theological schools to turn out great Semitists, so long as students make their first acquaintance with a Semitic language after they enter the seminary. Put your colleges and universities for general training into a condition in which they can offer Semitic studies freely to their students; spread, by these opportunities, by summer schools, and by the co-operation of scholars in philological work, an atmosphere of enthusiasm for such studies; give us at the seminaries a basis on which we may fairly rest the demand for some Semitic knowledge on the part of the students who come to us; and then see if we are not able to make more and better contributions to the growing number of Semitic scholars in America. By such provision you will not only pave the way for our students to become better theologians; you will prepare them to attack the problems to which I have already referred, which bear so closely upon theology, although they are, of their nature, philological, and belong to all scholars; you will incite us, who are instructors, to larger attainments and to more far-reaching, scholarly plans, and you will create a large and influential public which will feel a deep interest in all Semitic work, and will contribute to the realization of enterprises dear to the scholar's heart.

It is no new thing that the American college should thus encourage Semitic learning. Reference has already been made to the older Hebrew work in this

country. My own alma mater,—to mention but one modest institution,—Dartmouth College, had, three generations ago, a “Professor of Learned Languages” named John Smith, who near the beginning of this century (in 1803) felt the need of a Hebrew Grammar which he wrote and found himself able to issue. It was dedicated “To the Learned and Pious of All Descriptions, particularly the Clergy; in the United States of America.” There was a demand for such books among students. Such instances as this remind us, of course, that once a much larger proportion of our college-bred men entered the ministry than now, and that the theological seminary of the present was once not thought of. But they suggest to us, also, the possibilities of the present time, and the hope that on a larger scale, with richer equipment, and purposes both deeper and broader, our institutions of learning will, in the days that are just upon us, establish and generously foster the study of the philology, archæology, history and literature of the great Semitic race.

BRIEF ADDRESSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAME TOPICS.¹

There is much that is encouraging in the present condition of Semitic studies in this country. Semitic science has had the same obstacles to overcome as other sciences—the lack of conveniently arranged and large collections of materials, and the absence of long established traditions of study; these are necessary shortcomings of our youth. But we are making steady and reasonably rapid progress in these respects. We are adding to our materials in printed books, manuscripts and inscriptions, and to our teaching and working force. In addition to the widespread interest in the biblical side of Semitic work, there is a constantly increasing scientific interest. The enormous extent of the field, and the importance of all its sections, textual, grammatical, historical, archæological and theological, are recognized. We have had in the past and now have a fine array of excellent scholars, and the progress of study is constantly raising our standard of scholarship. We have come to see that the best results for our science will be gained by the example of thoroughly trained men. We have the advantage of a large general public and we are devoting ourselves to the production of specialists, from whom must come the real knowledge and enthusiasm of the community. The orderly shaping of science, the discovery of truth, the proper estimation and interpretation of facts, all those things that enter into the formation of genuine interest must be the work of men who devote their lives to special studies, and acquire the knowledge and intelligence which are necessary for correct judgments. Every department of Semitic study stands in need of specialists; there are Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac and Assyrian texts to be edited and explained, large sections of history to be cleared up, studies in art to be carried on, grammatical forms and constructions to be analyzed. There is need of cordial co-operation between Semitic and Indo-European students—not that the two families of languages are to be brought violently together, but that each group of scholars may learn from the methods of the other. The mass of work to be done is great, and we have in America the possibility of a mass of workers who may do great things.

C. H. TOY.

¹ By Professors Toy, Haupt, Green, and Lyon.

Professor Haupt said that when he first came to this country some years since he had been deeply impressed with the great interest taken in Semitic studies, and to his genuine satisfaction this bent for Oriental philology and archæology had been increasing, thanks to the enthusiasm and energy of several of our most prominent scholars. We could hardly complain any longer that these studies did not meet with an adequate recognition. New chairs of Semitic philology had been established at quite a number of colleges and universities, and collections of Oriental antiquities had been started in various centres of learning. What we needed was a little more co-operation and centralization. Our representatives of Semitic studies should try above all to get a series of Semitic dictionaries adapted for the use of beginners and written in the English language. Nothing was more sorely needed at present than a good Hebrew-English lexicon, and it was most gratifying to know that this want would soon be met by two of our biblical philologists eminently qualified for such a work. In philology as well as archæology we should try gradually to emancipate ourselves from Europe. There was no longer need for supporting European enterprise in biblical archæology with American money. We could have a national society of biblical archæology just as strong as the London association of that name; and if all efforts in this direction could be properly united we might hope to have some day in this country a collection of biblical antiquities similar to those of the great national museums in European capitals. The interest had here in these investigations was certainly as widespread as in the old country, and a considerable number of students in Oriental philology and archæology frequenting European universities and museums consisted of Americans.

I have listened with great interest to the able papers which we have heard to-night and to the remarks of the various speakers who have followed. I can readily understand the enthusiasm awakened by the pursuit of Semitic studies; and particularly by that branch of Semitic study which is of such recent origin and yet has sprung into such sudden and extraordinary prominence. I mean the language and literature of Assyria and Babylonia. The most brilliant literary feat on record is the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions and thus opening up to investigation rich treasures which had been buried for long ages, whose contents were altogether unknown and their very existence unsuspected. Written in strange characters which might be alphabetic, syllabic or idiographic, no one knew in what language, their purport and even the age to which they belonged a matter of doubtful conjecture, they have yielded to the patient skill and learning directed upon them, and have brought to light the history, the religion, the life and manners, the whole realm of thought of great empires whose existence was known, but in regard to almost everything that concerned them there was absolute ignorance. Through these researches, in which American scholars are taking an active and creditable part, we are now brought into familiar contact with the details of a long forgotten civilization and coming to know more of the ancient world than the ancients did themselves.

From the narrow and quiet corner in which my own limited range of study is pursued, I look out with admiration upon these broad and open fields which are cultivated with such zeal and success and bid the laborers God-speed! I recog-

nize with ever increasing gratification the numerous and important points of contact between the Old Testament and the various lines of inquiry, historical, philological, philosophical and religious in which such noble work is doing at the present time. Much welcome light has already come from this quarter in the way of illustration and of the confirmation or the correction of pre-existing opinions, tending to resolve obscure and difficult questions, and enabling us with greater accuracy and certainty to adjust the relations of the life and thought and recorded beliefs of the Hebrew people to those of surrounding nations in a remote antiquity. Much more light may doubtless be expected from explorations and investigations now in progress. We are all seekers after truth; and truth which is ascertained in one sphere is valid in every other, and must harmonize with and prove helpful to true science and sound learning in every department affected by it.

I wish to add a single word in order to emphasize a suggestion made in the admirable paper of Dr. Brown. The introduction of Hebrew and the cognate tongues as elective and graduate studies into colleges and universities is of great consequence to theological seminaries. If students continue to enter the divinity school with no previous knowledge of any Semitic tongue, and their entire first year must be given up to acquiring the rudiments of Hebrew and some tolerable facility in translating it, what is it possible to do for higher learning in this department in the limited time at our command? What could be done in New Testament studies if students entered as ignorant of Greek as they now are of Hebrew? But if our classes could begin with such a knowledge of Hebrew as the graduates of our colleges already possess of Greek,—if they could enter the seminary as far advanced as they now are at the end of the first year, there would be a foundation upon which to build; there would be some hope of their making high attainments in the interpretation and criticism of the Old Testament, and in associated branches of Semitic learning.

W. H. GREEN.

Professor Lyon, of Harvard, spoke substantially as follows: "Gentlemen of the American Oriental Society, it seems to me particularly appropriate that our first meeting in this city should come just at this time. The University of Pennsylvania, one of the most recent of our schools to manifest special interest in Semitic studies, is now rapidly becoming an example to all others in this line of work. I refer particularly to the interest which they are displaying in the matter of Babylonian research. We have heard already this evening of the valuable Babylonian and Assyrian objects which Professor Peters, now on his way to Chaldea, has purchased for the university. The university is to be congratulated on having among its instructors a man who is willing to devote his time to the great subject of enlarging our knowledge by work done amid the ancient ruins. No friend of learning can do otherwise than rejoice at his success in securing the means for paying the expenses of the expedition, and we all hope for larger results than have yet been dreamed of. The very important period of the time of the Jewish exile in Babylon is as yet represented by few historical literary remains. While the records of the private and social life at Babylon during this time are sufficiently numerous for us to form a good idea of the influences to which the exiles were subject, we have as yet no native account of the deportation and return to Judea. The annals of Nebuchadnezzar must contain the one and

those of Cyrus the other, and these must have found a place in the royal archives at Babylon. What a glory it would be to American enterprise if the spade of the Philadelphia expedition should light upon these great treasures! We hope that this University may become the repository of many valuable objects of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquity, and we hope that the success of the present expedition may be an incentive to all our other institutions which have an interest in this line of research. This expedition, the direct descendant of the Wolfe expedition, shows what may be done in securing aid for the great cause of research. We are to congratulate ourselves also that two of the members of this society are now engaged in furthering scientific Semitic study by preparing a Hebrew dictionary which shall embody the latest results of scholarship, and you will all agree with me in wishing Doctors Briggs and Brown the greatest success in their work.

As to the special topic of the evening, Semitic study in America, I cannot do better than to say that I heartily endorse the wise and hopeful words which we have already heard from the speakers who have preceded me.

➤BOOK : NOTICES.◀

WORTABET'S ARABIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.*

An Arabic-English dictionary has recently made its appearance from the Al-Muktataf press at Cairo, Egypt. It is edited by Prof. William Thomson Wortabet, Professor of English in the Egyptian Government School of Medicine and Pharmacy at Cairo. He was aided by his learned father, Rev. John Wortabet, M. D., of Beirut, Syria, and by Prof. Harvey Porter, B. A., of the Syrian Protestant College, at the same place. The work is dedicated by special permission to his Highness Mohammed Tewfik, Khedive of Egypt, "who has so highly promoted and patronized the cause of education among his people."

The book has 720 pages, is in a handy form, and the English type is especially good. The Arabic type is inferior to the German print, but is fairly clear, as much so as the Egyptian press has yet produced. The object of the work, as the editor suggests, "is to supply the want, long felt by many, of an accurate Arabic-English Dictionary which shall contain, within a moderate compass, the words most in use among Arabic classical writers, and which can be procured at a reasonable price."

A cursory glance at the compact volume before us would indicate that Prof. Wortabet has fairly attained the end in view. The dictionary is published at the moderate price of twelve shillings (\$3.00), postage included, and can be had direct from the Muktataf Press at Cairo, orders on London preferred. Prof. Porter's part of the work was in revising and in making an exhaustive comparison between it and the famous dictionary of Mr. Lane's, which stops short at the letter *mim* (م). The result is a dictionary that contains the latest scholarship and which has every Arabic word naturally run across in reading classical Arabic writings. The editors have made use of the Arabic-English dictionary of Dr. Steingass and the Arabic-French dictionary of the Jesuit missionaries of Beirut, the books most frequently in the hands of practical students of the Arabic. The present volume bids fair to supersede all other works in this line used at present in Egypt and Syria. Dr. Wortabet, of Beirut, has contributed to the volume fifteen pages in English on Arabic grammar, which will be found useful especially to those who wish to get a summary view of the method of the Arabic grammarians. There is also an appendix of about twenty pages giving certain Arabic words peculiar to the Egyptian dialect.

The editor has followed the plan of the Arab lexicographers in giving "the past and present-future forms of the verb and the noun of action or noun of trilaterals in full; for these forms are conventional, and can be learned only from

* ARABIC-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By William Thomson Wortabet, Professor of English in the Egyptian Government School of Medicine and Pharmacy, with the collaboration of Rev. John Wortabet, M. D., and Professor Harvey Porter, B. A. Cairo: *Al-Muktataf Printing Office*, 1888. Price, 12s., postage included.

classical usage or from a reference to a dictionary. The triliteral measure or form of the verb is held by Arab grammarians to be the root of all other words, and it is marked by an asterisk to denote the origin of the derived words which follow. The same sign has been affixed to nouns that can be traced to no verb."

On the whole this dictionary is to be strongly recommended to students of the Arabic as at once the handiest, most convenient in arrangement and most reasonable in price of all the Arabic-English dictionaries in the market.

HENRY W. HULBERT.

A NEW ASSYRIOLOGICAL JOURNAL.

Under the title of *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und Vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*,* a new publication, edited by Professors Friedrich Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, appears, which promises to be an important help to students of Assyrian and kindred branches of investigation. While not exactly of the nature of periodical literature, it will gather up and, at more or less regular intervals, present those important discussions and investigations along these lines which for one reason or another are not to be included in the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*. The table of contents of the first Heft is here given :

1. Paul Haupt, Das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen. 2. Franz Praetorius, Zur äthiopischen Grammatik und Etymologie. 3. Paul Haupt, Die zwölfte Tafel des babylonischen Nimrod-Epos (mit 9 Tafeln). 4. Joh. Flemming, Der literarische Nachlass G. F. Grotefends (mit Portrait). 5. Paul Haupt, Ergebnisse einer neuen Collation der Izdubar-Legenden. 6. Eb. Nestle, Die Verba mediae *N* im Syrischen. 7. Paul Haupt, Zur assyrischen Nominallehre. 8. Georg Steindorff, Die ägyptischen Namen in den Keilschrifttexten. 9. Paul Haupt, Die semitischen Sprachlaute und ihre Umschrift. 10. Friedrich Delitzsch, Assyrische Briefe. 11. Paul Haupt, Über die Halbvocale *u* und *i*. 12. Friedrich Delitzsch, Der Cylinder Sin-idinnam's (mit Abbildung in Lichtdruck).

*The price will vary with the size, 1 mark for each form of sixteen pages. *J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung*, Leipzig.

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